LIFE AND WORKS

of

ABDUL QADIR BEDIL

by

Dr. ABDUL GHANI, M.A., Ph.D.

PUBLISHERS UNITED LTD.
176, ANARKALI, LAHORE.

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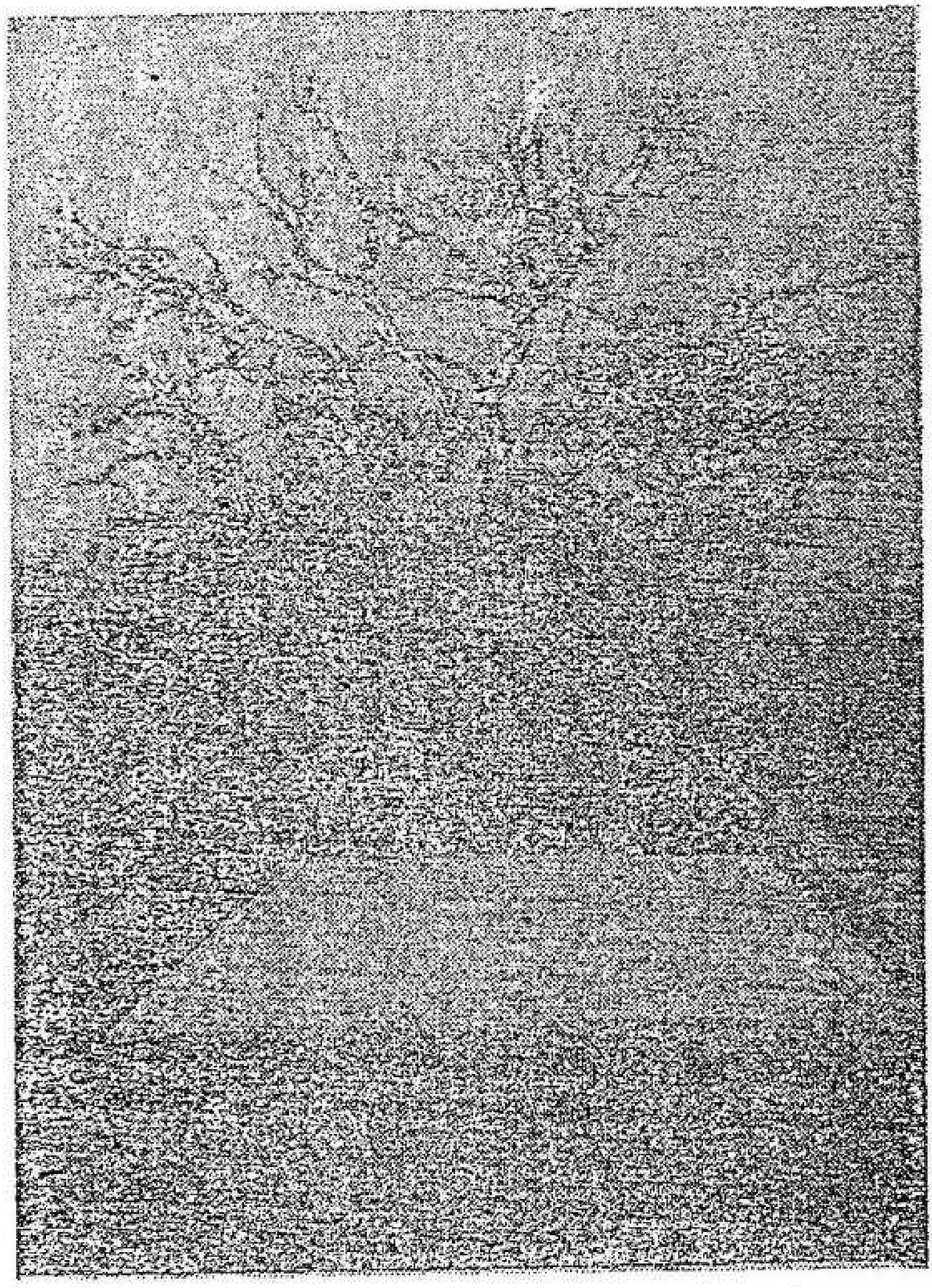
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To

My Kind Teacher

Dr. Muhammad Baqir

M.A., Ph.D. (London)



BEDIL'S TOMB (I) IN DELHI
(Courtesy Āqā-e-Sarwar Khān-e-Goyā)

Preface

GRADUAL disintegration of the Mughal Empire, after the death of Aurangzib in 1707 A.D., has prejudicially affected Muslims of this subcontinent in more than one way. Few persons realise that their great cultural heritage in particular suffered indescribably due to the catastrophic happenings that took place during the unfortunate rule of the later Mughals (1707-1857 A.D.). The institutions of the Muslims ceased to exist; the foundations of the society, they had built so laboriously since Muḥammad bin Qāsim entered India in 712 A.D., were wrecked; the arts, they cherished most, were destroyed; and the valuable manuscripts of the works, they produced in India, were either reduced to rubbish or taken away by the Britishers and other Europeans. It is a sad story; and when the history of this period comes to be written, after full realisation of this cultural loss, the world would painfully know what the end of Mughal Rule in India meant to Muslims.

It is in this background that we have to study the *Life and Works of 'Abdul Qādir Bedil*—the great Persian Poet who was born in India in 1644 A.D., during the glorious reign of Shāh Jahān, and died in 1720 A.D., when the Mughal Empire was tottering under the imbecile Emperor Muḥammad Shāh. Bedil's career at this critical juncture has done him much harm. In the confusion that followed the dissolution of the Mughul Empire, most of the works of our Poet, like those of many other writers hinted above, were either destroyed or taken away, and even to this day we search here in vain for them. Whatever is found is absolutely meagre and quite incomplete. This explains to a great extent why very few people know Bedil. Moreover, soon after the establishment of the British Rule in India, the impact of the Western civilisation turned the eyes of the Muslims to Europe, and they got no time to consider what they had lost due to the historic disruption of their society in this subcontinent. Hence Bedil, too, came to be almost totally neglected.

Still, there were some writers who talked now and then about the great contribution made by Bedil to Persian literature. Even eminent poets like Ghālib and Iqbāl sought inspiration from him, and

this was a pointer to the fact that a rich source lay untapped. I think myself very fortunate that gradually I got interested in the Great Poet, and, notwithstanding my humble attainments, I made up my mind to do research and to write a thesis about him. But his works were not available in the market. Nor could I get adequate help from any library in the country. Being disappointed from these quarters I entered into correspondence with the distinguished scholars and well-known writers. The reply I got from Nīyāz Fatahpūrī was very discouraging. He said it was not possible to procure Bedil's works, and, if procured somehow or other, age-long single-handed efforts would produce no results, as "Bedil is a boundless and fathomless Ocean." He further asked me to spend some four or five years with him, and he would tell me the few things he knew about Bedil. I think this rebuff was enough to extinguish the flame that had been kindled in my bosom by the ardent lovers of the Poet. But I was not disappointed and continued my efforts with redoubled vigour. Fortunately, Sayyid Sulaimān Nadvī, Maulānā Ḥasan Niẓāmī, Maulānā Ghulām Rasūl Mehr, and Dr. Sayyid Muḥammad 'Abdullah very kindly encouraged me and made some very good suggestions. I was advised to turn my attention to Afghānistān where Bedil is extremely popular. Now it was a problem for me to establish contacts with the literary circles in that country, but through the never-failing courtesy of my friend, Malik Ḥabībur Raḥmān, M.A., a trader, brought for me the matchless *Kullīyāt-e-Bedil*, lithographed in the Ṣafdari Press, Bombay, and the admirable *Dīwān-e-Bedil*, published in Kābul. With the arrival of these publications, my wishes began to materialise and I commenced studying the bulky works wholeheartedly.

Then the Panjab University granted me a scholarship, in the beginning of 1951, for making research about the Life and Works of Bedil. During those very days Āqā-e-Sarwar Khān-e-Goyā—the leading literary figure in Kābul—paid a visit to Lahore and he advised me to go to Kābul, where excellent manuscripts of Bedil's works existed and which contained material that was not found in the two books mentioned above. Consequently my kind director, Dr. Muḥammad Bāqir, M.A., Ph.D. (London), Head of the Persian Department, University of the Panjab—due to whose enlightened guidance I have been able to accomplish a most difficult task—arranged for my trip to Kābul during the summer vacation of the same year. Arrangements for my stay in the city were made by Maulānā 'Abdul Qādir, the then Charge d'Affaires, Pakistan Embassy, Kābul; and Āqā-e-Sarwar Khān-e-Goyā took me round to different libraries, and introduced me to the topmost literary persons in the city. I saw there most valuable and beautifully decorated manuscripts of Bedil's works, and copied much useful material. I discussed several

points with Afghān scholars like Sardār Faiẓ Muḥammad Khān Zakarīya, Khalīlullah Khān Khalīlī, Professor Hāshim Shāiq Āfandī, and Dr. Ans. It is a fact that but for my visit to Kābul much would have been wanting in this thesis, and my indebtedness to Kābul, therefore, is manifest in almost every chapter.

Bedil is really very popular in Afghanistān. Almost every literary person there possesses the huge *Kullīyāt-e-Bedil* of Safdarī Press, Bombay, which was being sold there for Rs. 700 Afghānī. While going to Paghmān Pass (a charming hill-resort in Afghanistān—the cool pass from where River Kābul rushes down the snowclad mountains and begins to flow in the valley) with Āqā-e-Sa'īd Nafīsī of Īrān, who happened to be there during those days, and Āqā-e-Sarwar Khān-e-Goyā, I was wonderstuck when our chauffeur told us that he too possessed that *Kulliyāt*. Besides, I found that most of the manuscripts of Bedil's works had arrived from Bukhārā and Shahr-e-Sabz in Central Asia. Some of them were contemporary with the Poet himself. This proved that the Poet's fame had spread there during his lifetime and persisted to this day. I was told that even in the Chinese Turkistan in the East and Turkey in the West, Bedil was equally popular. People liked him for his elegant diction, novel conceits, superb mysticism, brave and sublime philosophy of life, and orthodox views. If a thorough study of the literature, produced in all the countries mentioned above, is made, one would be surprised to find that Bedil has many followers, and that he has vastly influenced literary trends and mystical speculations in those lands.

Besides the literary, mystical, and philosophical import of Bedil's works, the writers and thinkers of the modern Republics of Central Asia find inspiration from the Poet on account of his progressive ideas permeated by an anti-feudal spirit. This startling fact was made known to the world when, on the occasion of the Islamic Colloquium held in Lahore, in the first week of January 1958, Dr. Ibrahim M. Muminov, member of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences, and a delegate from USSR, told in his address that Bedil is widely known in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, and modern writers like Aḥmad Dānish, Furkat, Mukimi, and Asiri derived immense benefit from the Poet, and Aḥmad Dānish, in particular, made a complete study of his progressive social philosophical ideas, and used them in the struggle against the tenets of the Middle Ages. Dr. Muminov told that L. Penkovski's Russian version of Bedil's poem *Kāmdī and Madan* was published in 1955 by the State Publishing House of Fiction, Moscow. He also said that, besides the lithographed editions, many manuscript copies of the Poet's works are available in Tashkand, Andjan, Samarqand, Bukhārā, Leningrad, Stalinabad, and other towns of the Soviet Middle Asiatic

Republics. The learned scholar added that Bedil's popularity among the people finds confirmation in the appearance of popular reciters, commonly known as "Bedil-K͟hāns."

This was about Bedil's popularity in the lands of the brave Afg͟hāns and the robust Uzbeks and Tājīks. But, in spite of the scanty attention paid to him, it cannot be denied that, in this sub-continent too, the Poet has been a great force. Modern polished and elegant Urdu owes much to him and, as a thinker, he influenced the mystical views of G͟hālib, and Iqbāl's Philosophy of Ego. Still, as I have remarked above, the vast literature that flowed out of Bedil's pen lies untapped. In this thesis I have only made hints about his different aspects—his mysticism, his philosophy of life, his social ideology, his aesthetics, etc.—and many a research scholar, therefore, can dig into this literature and bring out rich treasure. Fortunately, of late, there has been an evidence of growing interest in Bedil. In addition to the sporadic effusions of Niyāz Fataḥpūrī, regular work has been done by some scholars. Dr. G͟hulām Yāsīn K͟hān Niyāzī, M.A., Ph.D., was the first to write about the Life and Works of Bedil, in three instalments, in the *Oriental College Magazine*, in the early thirties. It was a good attempt, and, while at Kābul, I saw that the article had been translated into Persian. Then Qāẓī 'Abdul Wadūd of Patna collected everything, relating to Bedil, from the manuscript copy of the second volume of K͟hus͟hgū's *Safīna*, and got it published in *Ma'ārif* of May and July 1942. These were all articles, but recently, in 1952, a book, entitled *Bedil*, dealing with the Poet's Philosophy of Self, was published by the Institute of Islamic Culture, Lahore. Its author, K͟hwājā 'Ibādullah Ak͟htar, enjoys the honour of writing the first book on Bedil. As a fellow-worker in the same field I welcome his book. I would, however, suggest that in a future edition of the book, the learned author would remove the mistakes that have crept into the chapter dealing with the biography of Bedil, and also he would not let it remain sketchy and jejune. Moreover, enunciation of the Poet's views about paradise needs reconsideration. A thorough and deeper study of Bedil discloses that by paradise he means 'Self,' and not this world as stated by K͟hwāja Ṣāḥib. In addition to this, improvement at several other places, especially in the matter of the treatment of the subject, is desirable. After the publication of this book one gets the heartening news that a youthful scholar, Mr. Maḥmūd Aḥmad Nāẓir, is making a comparative study of Bedil and Iqbāl.

My thesis is now before the literary world and the scholars would judge its value. I would, however, like to submit that it has been written after a research of full seven years, and I have not given a separate history of Bedil's period, but I have tried to show

how the Poet moved and lived during his times. No unnecessary details have been given, and if, for instance, some facts about Shāh Jahān have been given at a greater length, they would be found to have a profound relation with the development of the Poet's personality. While speaking about Bedil's Works, I have avoided *repetitions*, because I did not like to bore my readers. Moreover, I have quoted Bedil at every place to make my statements authentic and full of interest. The final chapter shows that Bedil's Life and his Works are intimately connected with each other.

With these remarks I finish this prologue, and pray that may this humble work, which owes its vitality to my lifeblood, contribute towards making Bedil known to the world.

'ABDUL GHANI

Contents

List of Illustration

Transliteration

ا = a	خ = kh	ع = ʻ (e.g. Maʻbad معبد, Shujāʻ شجاع, ʻĀbid عابد)
آ = ā	د = d	
اِ = i	ڈ = ḍ	غ = gh
ب = b	ذ = ẕ	ف = f
پ = p	ر = r	ق = q
ت = t	ز = z	ک = k
ٹ = ṭ	س = s	ل = l
ث = s̤	ش = sh	م = m
ج = j	ص = ṣ	ن = n
چ = ch	ض = ẓ	و = w
ح = ḥ	ط = ṭ	ہ = h
	ظ = z̤	ی = y

For vowels study the following examples :

اِور = Aur	میّت = Mayyit
اُون = Ūn	اَیسا = Aisā
اوّل = Awwal	مُردن = Murdan
مردِ کامل = Mard-e-Kāmil	اِیقان = Īqān

دوست و دشمن = Dost-o-Dushman

LIFE

CHAPTER I

Origin and Early Life

VARIOUS factors operate in moulding the personality of an individual, and the part played by race in this connection is not-insignificant. Racial characteristics, secretly and silently, lay down the foundations and then the superstructure of personality gradually develops under the influence of environment and education.

In the case of our poet, 'Abdul Qādir Bedil, his biographers[1] agree that he belonged to the hardy, warlike Mughul race. But when we want to know his tribe we find ourselves face to face with a baffling situation, because his biographers do not agree with one another on this subject. Husain Qulī Khān 'Azīmābādī, the celebrated author of the *Tazkirah Nishtar-e-'Ishq*, says[2] that the poet belonged to the Barlās tribe. As far as I know, no other Tazkirah-writer contributes to this view. Khān Ārzū,[3] followed by Rieu,[4] writes that the poet was an Arlāt. There is yet a third view which is shared by many Tazkirah-writers,[5] all of whom state that Bedil was an Arlās. To a superficial reader it would appear plausible that Barlās, Arlāt, and Arlās mean one and the same thing, but careful research reveals a totally different story.

The word Barlās means brave and of noble lineage.[6] This title

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1. Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mirātul Khayāl*, p. 337 ; Khushgū, *Safīna-e-Khushgū* in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942 ; Husain Qulī Khān, *Nishtar-e-'Ishq*, I, Ms., f. 203a ; Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Khazāna-e-'Āmirah*, p. 152.
2. Husain Qulī Khān, *Nishtar-e-'Ishq*, I, Ms., f. 203a.
3. Ārzū, Sirājuddīn 'Alī Khān, *Majma'unnafāis*, Ms., p. 56a.
4. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Mss. in the British Museum*, p. 706b.
5. (*i*) Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mirātul Khayāl*, p. 386.
   (*ii*) Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, *Khazāna-e-'Āmirah*, *Yad-e-Baizā*, in *Ma'ārif* for August 1946, p. 86. *Khazāna-e-'Āmirah*, p. 152. In *Sarw-e-Āzād* it is Bārlas which is palpably an error made by the calligraphist.
   (*iii*) Iftikhār, 'Abdul Wahhāb, *Tazkirah-e-Benazīr*, p. 39.
   (*iv*) Khushgū in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 358.
6. *Glossary of Turkish Words*, p. 116 ; Dughlāt, *Tārīkh-e-Rashīdī*, p. 3 ; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'āsirul Umara*, Vol. III, pp. 258-60.

was first assumed by Iradamcī Barlās, the eighth ancestor of Amīr Tīmūr.[1] All the Tīmurīs are, therefore, Barlāses, and keeping in view the genealogy[2] of Bābur, which shows that he was a descendant of Tīmūr, we can safely say that the illustrious Barlāses ruled over India for many centuries, till they were displaced by the British in 1857 A.D. Now we turn to the Arlāt sept. On the death of the father of Chingīz Khān, his mother married one Menglik Izka, who was a pious and virtuous man. The second son of Menglik Izka was named Arlāt and from him came the tribe of Arlāts.[3] Thus the Barlāses and the Arlāts have a glorious history and numerous prominent members of these tribes are mentioned in different history books[4] of the Mughuls. Owing to the widespread popularity of these tribes one can be easily misled to believe that Bedil was either a Barlās or an Arlāt.

But the evidence of about half a dozen of his biographers cannot be brushed aside. The author of *Nishtar-e-'Ishq*, who wrote this Tazkirah in 1232/1817 (نشتر رگ جان, being the chronogram)[5] and who says Bedil was a Barlās, was not a contemporary of our poet. His statement, therefore, cannot be trustworthy. Khān Ārzū, who says that the poet was an Arlāt, though a contemporary, seems to have taken no pains in finding out the tribe of Bedil. He says that he saw him only twice[6] in the beginning of the reign of the Emperor Farrukh Siyar (1713-1719 A.D.). In this connection I place my utmost reliance on Sher Khān Lodhī, the author of *Mirātul Khayāl*, who, after writing the account of Bedil in his *Tazkirah* showed it to the poet himself, who was satisfied[7] with what Sher Khān had written about him. There we learn that Bedil was an Arlās. It has already been pointed out[8] that Khushgū, in his *Safīna*, Āzād Bilgrāmī in all of his three *Tazkirahs*, 'Abdul Wahhāb Iftikhār in his *Tazkirah-e-Benazīr*, are all unanimous in declaring that Bedil belonged to the Arlās tribe. The author of *'Iqd-e-Surayya* also joins[9] them. Out of these four

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1. Dughlāt, Mirzā Haidar, *Tārīkh-e-Rashīdī*, p. 51 (in introduction).
2. 'Abdul Ghāzī, *The Genealogical History of the Tatars*, pp. 49-50.
3. Davy, *Institutes of Timur*, p. 312.
4. (i) Dughlāt, *Tārīkh-e-Rashīdī*, pp. 75, 108, 140, 141, 195, etc.
   (ii) 'Alī Yazdī, Sharaf-ud-dīn, *Zafarnāma*, pp. 52, 692.
   (iii) Bābur, *Memoirs of Bābur*, pp. 50, 255, 298, 299, 302, etc.
   (iv) Abul Fazal, *Āīn-e-Akbarī*, p. 280.
5. Husain Qulī Khān, *Nishtar-e-'Ishq*, Ms., f. 209b.
6. Ārzū, *Majma'un Nafāis*, Ms., f. 56a.
7. Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mirātul Khayāl*, p. 390.
8. Page 3, supra.
9. Mushafī, Ghulām Hamdānī, *'Iqd-e-Surayyā*, p. 16.

biographers, the last two are not contemporaries of Bedil. As regards Khushgū, he used to visit Bedil daily, and he says he was with him more than a thousand[1] times. It means that at least for about three years Khushgū constantly visited Bedil. So far as Āzād Bilgrāmī is concerned, he has admittedly[2] collected more details regarding the life of the poets he mentions than most of the other biographers. Moreover, in the *Catalogues of the Persian and Arabic Manuscripts* of the Bānkīpūr[3] and Behār[4] Libraries, too, we find that the name of the tribe to which Bedil belonged has been mentioned as Arlās. Now in *Nūrul Abṣār*,[5] a dictionary of the Turkish language written in the reign of Muḥmmad Shāh, the Mughul Emperor (1719-1739 A.D.), we read that Arlās is indeed the name of a Mughul tribe. Arlās tribe, though less conspicuous, is, therefore, the tribe to which Bedil belonged. The etymology of the word Arlās is unknown, though the author of *Āṣiful Lughāt* writes that 'the ninth intellect' is called Arlās.

Nothing definite is known about the date of the migration of Bedil's ancestors to India. Originally, they belonged to Tūrān—a country beyond the River Oxus—and lived in Bokhāra. Research regarding the question of Bedil's ancestors, who first migrated to India, has also been fruitless. This much alone is known that for many generations his forefathers were soldiers.[6] But we tread surer ground when we come to speak of Bedil's father—Mīrzā 'Abdul Khāliq.[7] He was a well-to-do soldier[8]; but, very early[9] in his life, he renounced the world and lived the life of a ṣūfī devoted to the Absolute Reality. Through the spiritual assistance of a saint, Maulānā Kamāl,[10] he had the rare fortune of being instructed in the

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1. Khushgū in *Ma'ārif* for May 1942, p. 369.

2. Sprenger, A., *A Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Hindustany Manuscripts of the Libraries of the Kings of Oudh*, p. 144.

3. Ms. No. 381. Bankipur is properly the western suburb of Patna.

4. Ms. No. 410.

5. Rai Dhan, *Nūrul Abṣār*, Ms. f., 452-A.

6. Bedil, *Chāhar 'Unṣur*, Ṣafdarī Edition, p. 66. Here Bedil writes that he joined the Army in keeping with the traditions of his forefathers.

7. Khūshgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 358 Khushgū gives this name, but Hāshim Shāiq Āfandī—a Professor of Persian Literature in Kabul University—possesses a manuscript *Kulliyāt* of Bedil, in which at the end of the *Ruqq'āt* and in the beginning of the Masnavī *Muḥīt-e-A'ẓam*, I saw the following statement : ساقی نامه میرزا عبدالقادر بیدل ولد یوسف الدین. The scribe wrote it in 1236 A.H. (1820 A.D.). But as Khushgū is a contemporary I believe him. For Hāshim Shāiq's Kulliyāt see *Aryana*, Kabul, Dalv 1329 (1370 A.H.).

8. Shād 'Aẓīmābādī, *Nawā-e-Waṭan*, p. 70. *Oriental College Magazine*, August 1932.

9. Khushgū in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 358.

10. Bedil, *Kulliyāt*, II, p. 21 (Ṣafdarī Edition).

Path by the spirit of Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir Jīlānī (470-560 A.H., 1077-1164 A.D.) himself, who was undoubtedly mainly responsible for the popularisation of the new note of passion and emotion in orthodox Islam, introduced into more intellectual circles by Ghazzālī.[1] Mīrzā 'Abdul Khāliq thus belonged to the famous Qādirī[2] order of the Ṣūfīs, which had entered India, through Sind, in 1482 A.D.

When Mīrzā 'Abdul Khāliq was quite an old[3] man, at a very auspicious hour in 1054 A.H. (1644 A.D.), a son was born to him. Mīrzā Abul Qāsim Tirmizī[4] a Ṣūfī Sayyid and intimate friend of Mīrzā 'Abdul Khāliq, was well versed in Mathematics[5] and Astrology. He foretold a brilliant future for the child, and, to commemorate this happy occasion, he brought forth two chronograms : فیض قدس and انتخاب, each yielding the year 1054 A.H. Little did the family know at that time that the handsome child, who was indeed a divine gift (فیض قدس), would one day be one of the elect (انتخاب) of the world. As he had an unshakably profound faith in the spiritual eminence of Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir Jīlānī, Mīrzā 'Abdul Khāliq wanted to perpetuate the memory of this fealty in the name of his son who was called 'Abdul Qādir.[6]

The place where this child was born has been variously given by the Tazkirah-writers. Mīr Qudratullah Qāsim, the author of *Majmū'a-e-Naghz*, who wrote this Tazkirah in 1221 A.H. (1806 A.D.) says that 'Abdul Qādir was born in Bokhara, and came to India in his childhood.[7] It may be noted that Mīr Ṣāhib made this statement full eighty-eight years after the death of Bedil. 'Abdul Ghafūr Nassākh wrote his *Sakhun-e-Shu'ara* in 1281 A.H. (1864 A.D.) and he too has the same views[8] about the birthplace of Bedil but it appears his authority is none other than Mīr Qudratullah Qāsim. As already pointed out, Bokhara must have been the native[9] town of Bedil's ancestors, but it cannot be the birthplace of the poet as asserted in *Majmū'a-e-Naghz*. Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī, the well-known writer of the three *Tazkirahs—Yade Baiza*, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, and *Khazāna-e-*

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1. Suhrawardī, Hasan, in *History of Sufism* by Arberry, Introduction xii.
2. Ibid. This order was started by the renowned Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir Jīlānī.
3. Khushgū, in *Ma'arif*, May 1942, p. 358.
4. Bedil, *Chahār 'Unṣur*, Ṣafdarī Edition, p. 25.
5. Khushgū in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942.
6. Ibid.
7. Qāsim, Mīr, Qudratullah, *Majmū'a-e-Naghz*, 115. A fantastic story was told to me in Kabul that Bedil was born in Badakhshan, where tribe (قشلاق) of Bedil still exists. No documentary proof was, however, produced.
8. Nassākh, 'Abdul Ghafūr, *Sakhun-e-Shu'ara*, p. 75.
9. Page 3, supra.

Amirah, and who is, we know, very scrupulous about giving facts, says definitely in all the three books that Bedil was born in 'Azīmābād Patna. Āzād Bilgrāmī (born 1116/1704), it must be borne in mind, was a contemporary of Bedil, though much younger in age.

Internal evidence too can be easily arrayed on the side of Āzād. Whenever Bedil writes about Bihār and its towns one is emphatically made to believe that he is well acquainted with the province, and palpably this would have been impossible unless he had passed a considerable period of his early life in that part of the country. There is, besides, an implicit reference to his attachment for Bihār in a letter[1] which Bedil wrote in his old age from Dehli, to someone living in Bihār. He wrote :

نعیم عیش صوبهٔ بهار مبارکباد .

[Accept my congratulations for enjoying a happy life in Bihār Province].

This shows that he had a warm corner in his heart for the province even in his old age. A verse,[2] too, is worth serious consideration in this respect :

ما سیه بختاں حباب گریهٔ نومیدیم خانه بر آبست یکسر مردم بنگاله را

[We, the unlucky fellows, are the bubbles produced by the tears of disappointment,

The people of Bengāl have their houses completely on water (leading quite a precarious life)].

Here we find a clear reference to his homeland. Bihār and Bengāl in those days meant one and the same territory. Khān Ārzū, certainly, had this fact in mind when he wrote in *Majma'un Nafāis* that during his early days Bedil lived[3] in Bengāl. Someone might say : "At the most we conclude from these facts that Bedil was a Bihārī, and he must have been called 'Azīmābādī as, according to Sayyid Sulaimān Nadvī,[4] who himself belongs to Bihār,[5] towns-people in Bihār are often called 'Azīmābādīs." He may be told that the central place, from where Bedil in his early life had been making journeys[6] to other places, was Patna, and this could not be the case unless it was his native town.

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1. Bedil, *Ruqq'āt*, 138. Here Bedil speaks clearly about his old age.
2. Bedil, *Kulliyāt*, Ṣafdarī Edition, *Ghazliyāt*, 35.
3. Ārzū, *Majma'un Nafāis*, Ms., f. 56a. The original statement reads :

در بنگاله بسر برده

4. *Ma'ārif*, August 1946, p. 94.
5. *Urdu Magazine*, January 1928.
6. Pages 12, 23, 26, 29 infra.

Moreover, not only Āzād Bilgrāmī but other biographers also assert definitely that Bedil was born in 'Azīmābād Patna. Husain Qulī Khān 'Azīmābādī writes in *Nishtar-e-'Ishq* :[1] بیدل در عظیم آباد پٹنہ ولادت یافت [Bedil was born in Azīmābād Patna]. Similarly, Wazīr 'Ali 'Azīmābādī says in *Mi'rājul Khayāl*[2] : مولد لطیفش شہر عظیم آباد است [His (Bedil's) birthplace is the beautiful town of 'Azīmābād]. Shād 'Azīmābādī even mentions[3] the quarter in which Bedil lived. He says : "Mīrzā 'Abdul Qādir Bedil belonged to 'Azīmābād Patna proper and the aged people say he lived in the Pattan Devī quarter."

It may be noted that all the authorities quoted above hail from 'Azīmābād. This fact shows that the belief that Bedil belonged to this town is shared by all the writers of that place and has been handed down from one generation to another. In a recently published booklet,[4] بہار اور اردو شاعری, Bedil has again been claimed as 'Azīmābādī. Finally, we come to the short biographical sketch of Bedil given in the *Catalogue of Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library, Bankipur*, where all what I have said so far has been tersely summed[5] up :

> "Mīrzā 'Abdul Qādir Bedil. . . . son of Mīrzā 'Abdul Khāliq of Turkish origin, belonging to the Chaghtai tribe of Arlās, was born in 'Azīmābād Patna in A.H. 1054 (A.D. 1644) for which date the word انتخاب is a chronogram."

Now Bankipur[6] is a suburb of Patna and a part of the Patna municipality. This life-sketch of Bedil, therefore, must be based on authentic facts. In view of all this, I affirm unhesitatingly[7] that Bedil was born in 'Azīmābād Patna, and that he must have passed at least a considerable part of his early life in the Pattan Devī quarter of the town, as stated by Shād 'Azīmābādī.[8]

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1. Husain Qulī Khān 'Azīmābādī, *Nishtar-e-'Ishq*. Ms. f. 203a
2. Wazīr 'Alī Khān 'Azīmābādī, *Mi'rājul Khayāl*, Ms.; date of composition 1257 A.H. (1841 A.D.).
3. Shād 'Azīmābādī, *Nawā-e-Watan*, p. 220 ; in *Ma'ārif*, August 1946, p. 95. The original quotation follows :

بیدل خاص عظیم آباد پٹنہ کے متوطن تھے . . . اگلے لوگوں سے سنا ہے
کہ مرزا محلہ پٹن دیوی میں رہتے تھے -

4. Dardai, Mu'inuddīn, Muhammad, بہار اور اردو شاعری, pp. 21-25.
5. See under Manuscript No. 631 of this Catalogue, Vol. III, published, Calcutta 1912.
6. O'Malley, *Bengal District Gazetteers, Patna*, 180.
7. I have deliberately avoided to mention Akbarābād, Delhi and Lahore, which cities have been given by Khushgū, 'Ali Qulī Hidāyat, and Tāhir Nasrābādī respectively as the native places of Bedil. During his lifetime our poet lived in these cities at one time or the other.
8. See above.

Numerous references have so far been made to 'Azīmābād. It would, therefore, be desirable to give here a brief history and geography of this place.

'Azīmābād is the Patliputra[1] of ancient times, which was the capital of Magdha. When it was being built, Buddha (500 B.C.) predicted that it would become a great city. Later, Patliputra came to be called Patna. In 1704 A.D. it was re-christened 'Azīmābād[2] by its Governor, Prince 'Azīmushshān, a grandson of the Emperor Aurangzeb. As Bedil was born in 1644 A.D., it was then still called Patna, and, as he was an old man of sixty when it changed its name and became 'Azīmābād, Bedil always calls it Patna[3] in his writings. Nowadays again it is Patna of old days and is the capital[4] of Bihar, and the headquarters town of Patna District. It is situated on the south bank of the Ganges.

At the time when Bedil was born, Shāh Jahān, the magnificent Mughul Emperor, was ruling over India. He had ascended the throne in 1628 A.D. (1037 A.H.), and during the sixteen years that had elapsed till the birth of Bedil, Shāh Jahān had fully established his claim for being an illustrious monarch. His armies had been victorious[5] in all the campaigns that he had undertaken. His last gain was Qandhar,[6] surrendered in 1638 A.D. (1047 A.H.), to the Imperial Armies by 'Alī Mardān Khān, its Governor. Since then necessity for entering upon a military enterprise had not arisen. The Emperor's victories had established Imperial prestige and consequently there was perfect peace and tranquillity in the Empire. Jūstice was administered equitably, a general sense of security prevailed, and trade and industry flourished.[7]

Shāh Jahān had a natural taste for magnificence and elegance. The unrivalled Peacock Throne[8]—an exquisite specimen of workmanship in jewels and precious stones—was constructed for him in 1634 A.D. (1044 A.H.) costing one crore of rupees. Foundations of the grandest

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1. Cunningham, Alexander, *The Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 452-56.
2. O'Malley, *Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers, Patna*, 198.
3. Bedil, *Kulliyāt*, Ṣafdarī Edition ; *Chahār 'Unṣur*, 50, 124.
4. O'Malley, *Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers, Patna*, 165.
5. 'Abdul Ḥamid Lāhorī, *Padshāhnāma*, Vol. I, Part A, pp. 246, 238, Part B, p. 106, ibid., in Elliot and Dowson, p. 33. Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhabul Lubāb*, I, pp. 410-461, 475, 509-26.
6. Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhabul Lubāb*, I, pp. 556-559.
7. Rai Bhara Mal, *Lubbut Tawārikh-e-Hind*, in Elliot and Dowson, p. 172. 'Abdul Ḥamid Lāhorī, *Padshāhnāma*, Vol. I, Part A, p. 139, ibid., Part B, p. 78.
8. اورنگ شاهنشاه عادل is the chronogram which occurs in a poem by Ḥājī Muḥammad Jān Qudsī, which was engraved in the canopy of the throne. For the poem see Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhabul Lubāb*, Part I, p. 503.

city of the Empire, i.e. of Shāh Jahānābad[1] were laid on the 25th of Zil Ḥijja 1048 A.H. (29th April 1639) and constructions were going on apace under the directions of the ablest of the royal engineers. Mumtāz Maḥal, the dearly loved wife of Shāh Jahān, had died[2] on the 7th of June 1631 (17th of Zulqa'd 1040) in childbirth, gazing with tearful eyes at her royal consort, who later on gave expression[3] to his affection and sorrow in the elegant and chaste Tāj. The marble monuments on its inner platform were completed in 1053 A.H.[4] (1643 A.D.) a year before the birth of Bedil. Thus the blessed child was born in a world whose imagination had been tickled by the magnificence and graciousness of Shah Jahān.

It may also be borne in mind that at this occastion, the Emperor had banned the practice of prostration[5] before the throne, and had re-introduced the Islamic calendar. The objections, so vociferously raised by al-Mujaddid,[6] had thus been removed. Moreover, he had struck coins[7] bearing the orthodox religious views, had arrived at a settlement with the Deccani Muslim rulers to the effect that the first three caliphs of Islam should not be abused,[8] and he had also visited, as a pilgrim, publicly, the tombs of Khwāja Mu'īnuddīn[9] Chishtī Ajmerī (in 1046/1636 and 1053/1643) and Khwāja Niẓāmuddīn Awliya[10] of Dehli (in 1048/1638). The orthodox Muslims felt glorified and they adored Shāh Jahān as a hero. Shāh Jahān was, therefore, at the climax of his power, influence, and popularity when Bedil opened his eyes in this world.

He had opened his eyes in this world, but before reaching manhood he had yet to pass through the stage of infancy. Bedil himself gives an account[11] of those days. At that time he could not distinguish good from bad, and man from woman. He was only sucking nourishment from the breasts of his loving mother and, whenever the supply of sweet milk stopped, he used to cry bitterly. For him this period had really the blessings[12] of paradise. Wherever he

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1. 'Ināyat Khān, *Shāh Jahān Nāma*, in Elliot and Dowson, VII, p. 89.
2. 'Abdul Ḥamid Lāhorī, *Padshahnāma*, Vol. I, Part A, p. 384.
3. Fergusson, *Mughal Architecture*, p. 284.
4. Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhbul Lubāb*, Vol. I, p. 596.
5. Ibid., p. 397. 'Abdul Ḥamīd Lahorī, *Pādshāhnama*, Vol. I, Part A, p. 110.
6. 971-1034 A.H. For the biographical sketch of this eminent saint, whose full name is Shaikh Aḥmad Sirhindi, see Fārūqī, Burhān Aḥmad, *The Mujaddid's Conception of Tawḥīd*, pp. 5-18.
7. 'Abdul Ḥamīd Lāhorī, *Pādshahnāma*, Vol. I, Part A, p. 91.
8. Ibid., Part B, pp. 145, 178.
9. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 344.
10. Ibid., p. 112.
11. Bedil, *Chahār 'Unṣur* 'Ṣafdarī Edition, p. 5.
12. Ibid., p. 7.

lay, it turned out to be a soothing cot, and at every place a nurse's lap welcomed his head. Gradually he began to recognise his parents, and learnt to utter pappa[1] and mamma, and then, after crawling for some days on the ground, he managed to tread here and there. His innocent monosyllabic[2] utterances were loved by all. Soon he was running, going freely even into the purdah-observing homes, and chattering and laughing.

When he was about four years and a half[3] his father, Mīrzā 'Abdul Khāliq, breathed his last, and Bedil was left an orphan. Brilliant reminiscences[4] of the paternal care were the only thing he could recollect in later years about his father. Now he was under the protection of Mīrzā Qalandar,[5] a step-brother and also disciple of his father. For some time no attention was paid[6] towards the education of Bedil, but in the beginning of the sixth month of the sixth year of his life, his mother, a virtuous lady, taught him the alphabet, and then he was put under the charge of teachers. He finished reading the Holy Qurān[7] after the incredibly short period of seven months. This shows he was highly intelligent. His mother had also died by that time,[8] and he was now under the sole charge of Mīrzā Qalandar.

He learnt Arabic grammar[9] and Persian prose and verse till he was ten years old. His mind was not yet mature for philosophy. In spite of this, while speaking of new vistas of thought that were slowly and steadily opening before his mind in those days, he says, "Every crowd that I saw served as a *Maktab* contributing towards my perfection, and every word that fell on my ears guided me a step further. Every subtle point used to unfold before me a book of mysteries, and every aphorism revealed volumes of truth. Such a penetrating mind had been granted to me by the bountiful God !"

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1. Bedil, Chahār 'Unṣur, Ṣafdarī Edition, p. 5.
2. Ibid., p. 7.
3. Khushgū in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 358.
4. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, Ṣafdarī Edition, p. 5. He mourns his father in this verse :

خورشید خرامید و فروغی به نظر ماند دریا به کنار دگر افتاد و گهر ماند

[The sun glided away, and only a brilliant twilight was in sight.
The river moved to the other bank and the pearl was left behind.]

5. Khushgū in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 359. Khushgū says برادر اخیافی a brother from the same mother but different father.
6. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, Safdarī Edition, p. 5.
7. Khushgū in *Mā'ārif*, May 1942, p. 359, that he finished the Holy Qurān before the death of his father, but Bedil himself contradicts him in *Chahar 'Unṣur* at page 5.
8. Khushgū in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 359.
9. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, Ṣafdarī Edition, p. 6. Khushgū in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 359.

At this time[1] when he was studying rhetoric and learning lessons from the *Gulistān*[2] of the Great Sa'dī, one of his class-fellows used to come to the *Maktab* chewing the fragrant clove jilly flower (قرنفل). Whenever the boy smiled or talked, the air was filled with sweet smell. This perfume stirred his latent creative faculties, and Bedil composed the following quatrain :

یارم هر گاه در سخن می آید   بوئی عجبش از دهن می آید
این بوی قرنفل است یا نکهت گل   یا رائحهٔ مشک ختن می آید

[Whenever my beloved speaks,
A strange perfume comes out of his mouth.
Is it the fragrance of the clove jilly flower or that of rose,
Or there comes the sweet smell of the musk of Cathay ?]

All who heard this quatrain were surprised. They could not believe that such a gem could be produced by a boy of ten. While talking about this composition, Bedil himself feels glorified.

In this very year of his life, when he had finished the *Kāfia* and had just commenced the *Sharah-e-Mulla Jāmī*,[3] a strange episode cut short Bedil's regular education. One day, two of his teachers[4] were holding discussion about inflections in Arabic grammar. In the heat of discussion, their jugular veins swelled, their eyes grew red-hot, and they lost their temper. Mīrzā Qalandar happened to be there. He thought if a life of devotion to Arabic studies ultimately results in such a shameless and childish behaviour, then woe upon schooling. He asked his nephew to leave the school forthwith and study the famous works of the master-writers of Persian at home. He reminded him that the chronograms فیض قدس and انتخاب, discovered by an eminent saint, Mīrzā Abul Qāsīm Tirmizī, predicted extraordinary intellectual and spiritual achievements and Bedil should, therefore, study privately, looking for guidance only to God, the Omniscient and Omnipotent. From that day he began to acquire knowledge with extraordinary self-devotion and emerged finally as a self-taught genius. We have to see how it happened.

Before crossing the Khyber Pass and coming into India, the Muslims of Central Asia had attained a high degree of civilisation, and their sciences had already reached their culminating point. I will only mention the names of Albirūnī (362-440 A.H.—972-1048 A.D.)

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1. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, Ṣafdari Edition, p. 47.
2. Ḥusain Qulī Khān 'Aẓīmābādi, *Nishtar-e-'Ishq*, Ms., f. 20½a.
3. Khushgū in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 360. Also *Nishtar-e-'Ishq*, f. 203ī, and *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Mss. at Bankipur.*
4. Khushgū says these were two students, but Bedil writes :

روزی در علمای مدرسه تقریر طرح اجلاسی قرار یافته بود . . . . و دودانشمند
بی انصاف عرصهٔ جولان لاف گرم داشتند

They were, therefore, teachers. See *Chahār 'Unṣur* Ṣafdari Edition, pp. 25, 26.

and Ibn Sīna (370-427 A.H.—980-1035-6 A.D.). They flourished in the territories from which came the main exodus of Muslims to India. About Ibn Sina, Bartold says that he mastered[1] the entire scientific knowledge of his epoch and expounded it in an intelligible and artistic form in his *Kitābush Shifā*, which deals with logic, physics, metaphysics, astronomy and theology.[2] When the Muslims had conquerred India, they sat down to propagate their sciences, and very soon, even in the days of 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khiljī (crowned in 695/1296) the seats of learning in this country vied with those which the Muslims had left in Bokhara, Samarqand, and Khawarzim. Philosophy, Metaphysics, Exegesis, Jurisprudence, Theology, Grammar, Rhetoric and Lexicography were taught.[3] During the Mughul period, the educational activities of the Muslims received a further impetus owing to continued peace and court patronage and encouragement. The highest pitch[4] was reached during the reign of Shāh Jahān who, besides being a strong ruler, was a bibliophile, and made notes on manuscripts.[5] Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq[6] (died 1052/1642), Maulvī 'Abdul Ḥakīm Siālkotī[7] (died 1067/1656-7) and Shaikh Muḥammad Afẓal Jaunpurī[8] (died 1062/1651-52) were some of the distinguished 'ulema of his times. Sa'dullah Khān 'Allāmī[9] (died 1066/1655-6), the renowned Prime Minister of Shāh Jahān, knew the Holy Qurān by heart, and at the same time was proficient in all the sciences in vogue in those days.

We have spoken of India in general, but the *'ilāqa*, where Bedil was passing the impressionable period of his life, was still more fortunate in having the most enlightened 'ulema and scholars and the best seminaries. It had maintained, since earlier times, the proud distinction of having high traditions of learning. Nalanda,[10] the most famous seat of Buddhist learning in all India, was situated in this very *'ilāqa*. When Amīr Tīmūr pillaged the country from the Indus to the Ganges in 1398 A.D, Dehli was ransacked and its people were slaughtered. The brilliant luminaries of Islam fled for their life to the East. Synchronising with these times, fortunately, the Kings of the East, or the Sharqī Kings, were establishing themselves in

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1. Bartold, *Mussalman Culture*, p. 90.
2. Ibid., p. 89.
3. Baranī, *Tārīkh-e-Feroze Shāhī*, p. 352. Firishta, vol. I, pp. 120-22.
4. Sulaimān Nadvī, *Ḥayāt-e-Shiblī*, p. 341.
5. Law, *Promotion of Muhammādan Learning*, Foreword, p. xxvii.
6. 'Abdul Ḥamīd Lāhorī, *Pādshahnāma*, I B, p. 341.
7. Ibid., p. 340. He was called آفتاب پنجاب by al-Mujaddid. See Rahmān 'Alī, *Tazkirah-e-'Ulemā-e-Hind*, p. 110.
8. Raḥmān 'Alī, *Tazkirah-e-'Ulemā-i-Hind*, p. 181.
9. Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhabūl, Lubab*, I, p. 571.
10. Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, p. 469.

Jaunpur. Ibrāhīm Shāh, who reigned from 1401 to 1449 A.D., was the most prominent of the Kings of the East. He was an enlightened patron of arts and learning. All the Muslim scholars and 'ulema, therefore, flocked to Jaunpur and there they set up many seminaries.[1]

A new era of enlightment was thus inaugurated, and the country, right up to the ancient city of Patna,[2] became a cradle of learning and culture. So much so that Shāh Jahān once remarked with a glimmer of delight in his eyes: پورب شیراز ماست[3], i.e. 'Our East bears comparison with Shīrāz in respect of learning.' The works of the later thinkers of Iran had been introduced in India during the days of Akbar the Great, and were included in the courses of study.[4] After mastering the works of his predecessors, Mulla Muhammad Jaunpurī (died 1062/1651-2) had written his philosophical treatise—*Shams-e-Bāzigha*[5]—in 1042/1632-3 which stands out even today as a monument of learning and exposition.

From amongst the distinguished 'ulema of Bihār proper, we come across Mullā Moḥyuddīn Mohan Bihārī[6] (died 1068/1657-8) who was the teacher of Aurangzeb. Side by side with Bedil, Ghulām Yaḥyā Bihārī[7] (died 1128/1715-6) and Qāẓī Muḥibbullah Bihārī[8] (died 1119/1707) were also getting education. Later, the former earned a name as a philosopher, and the latter was called the virtual ocean of learning.

It is apparent that the environments in Bihār were at this time very conducive to the attainment of knowledge. All sorts of facilities were available and one could reap benefit according to one's bent of mind and circumstances. We know that Bedil had been asked by his uncle to study the masterpieces of Persian prose and verse at home. He had been advised to collect selected[9] verses and beautiful passages from different authors and then to show them to his uncle. It was essentially a research work. Conventional ways being abandoned, Bedil silently applied himself to poetical works, and reflection and concentration became his second nature. Gleanings of the day were read out to Mīrzā Qalandar, his uncle, whose appreciation

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1. Nūruddin Zafarābādī, *Tajallī-e-Nūr*, II, pp. 2, 29.
2. Ibid., 9. *Sabḥatul Mirjān* of Āzād Bilgrāmī, quoted in *Ḥayāt-e-Shiblī*, p. 12. The province of 'Aẓīmābād (Bihār) has also been included here in پورب, i.e. the East.
3. Āzād, Ghulām 'Alī Bilgrami, *Ma'āṣirul Kirām*, I, p. 221.
4. Ibid., p 238. The names of Dawwānī, Mīr Ṣadruddīn, Mīr Ghiyāsuddīn, etc., have been mentioned.
5. Ibid., p. 257.
6. Āzād, Ghulām 'Alī Bilgrāmī, *Ma'aṣirul Kirām*, I, p. 43.
7. Raḥmān 'Alī, *Taẕkirah-e-'Ulemā-e-Hind*, p. 159.
8. Ibid., p. 175.
9. Bedil, *Chahār 'Unṣur*, Ṣafdarī Edition, p. 27.

encouraged Bedil. Sometimes on hearing some elegant verse Mīrzā Qalandar was moved to ecstasy and used to compose couplets extempore. In view of the inspiration that Bedil received from his uncle, he counts him as one of his teachers. He says that he learnt good manners also from his uncle.

Mīrzā Qalandar, though illiterate, had a keen perception and could versify extempore with a fair degree of elegance. Once he had a piece of yellow[1] silk tied over his eyes on account of some eye trouble. Someone enquired about it and he replied off-hand :

محرومئ دیدار تو خون در جگر انداخت   چشمم چه کند چشم تراش از نظر انداخت

[My liver bleeded as I was debarred from seeing you.

What should my eyes do, when your eyes have cast them off ?]

He was also extraordinarily strong and energetic.[2] In a single pull, he could uproot a date-palm, with a rope of horse's hair tied to its stem some five or six feet deep in the earth. He could break the hardest stone of apricot, under the pressure of his thumb, and could easily straighten the twisted articles of inflexible steel. The army unit which was commanded by him was always victorious at the battlefield. Once fighting in Hazāra, he showed his fortitude and resolution in a strange way. In the heat of the action his heel was dislocated and his shank bone fractured. Calmly and silently he set right his heel, tied pieces of arrows round the fractured bone, and continued fighting for full three days, till he was victorious. Then he told his companions what had happened, and all were surprised.

Scorpions could not move under his shadow and locks opened as soon as he pointed at them with his forefinger. The former novel trait, he said, was inborn, and the latter he had acquired by repeating constantly for full five years : یا فتاح—an attribute of God. When he was feeling severely feverish, he would drink 300 Misqāl[4] of ghee at a drought and regarded it as health-giving syrup ; and he used to put ground pepper in his eyes to cure them of soreness.

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1. Bedil, Chahār 'Unṣur, Ṣafdarī Edition, p. 28.

2. Ibid., p. 23.

3. Khushgū says that in the beginning Mīrzā Qalandar was in the service of Prince Shujā'. We know that Prince Shujā' had been called from Bengāl by Shāh Jahān when he went to Kabul in 1056 A.H. (1646 A.D.) in connection with the arduous Balkh campaign. It is just possible that Mīrzā Qalandar accompanied the armies of Shujā' on that occasion. When the Mughul armies retreated in 1057 A.H. (1647 A.D.), they were attacked by the heartless Hazāras in the way. But I cannot say definitely that Mīrzā Qalandar experienced a fracture of his shank bone at that time. See Khushgū in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 359. Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhabul Lubab*, I, pp, 660, 676, 680.

4. مثقال is equivalent to about five grams. Haim, *New Persian-English Dictionary*, I, p. 818.

He lived a life of contentment[1] having no relish for nice dishes. He practised austerity, and, with a view to self-mortification, every now and then, he observed forty days of devotion and seclusion, as a consequence of which he would grow very thin and weak and only the entreaties of his friends compelled him to give up the severe self-discipline for some time. He said, "Strict self-discipline is essential if you wish to achieve perfection." We have also seen that he was a disciple[2] of Mīrzā 'Abdul Khāliq—Bedil's father. He had no liking for having an established home.[3] Bedil says,[4] "Mīrzā Qalandar had covered all the stages of the Path and belonged to the Qādirī order of Ṣūfism."

It has already been related that Mīrzā 'Abdul Khāliq had deep-rooted[5] faith in a saint named Maulānā Kamāl. Mīrzā Qalandar too was a great believer in the spiritual eminence of this holy personage. Maulānā Kamāl belonged to Rani Sagar[6]—a town in Bihār about sixty miles to the west of Patna. With a lowliness of spirit he had combined elevation of mind. He was the phoenix of his age in mysticism, and, in his regard for the canon law, he was a model for others. The Qādirī order of saints received much celebrity in Bihār because of the supreme excellence of his personality.[7]

Bedil had known him from his very childhood. But at one time things took such a turn that Maulānā Kamāl began to bestow increasingly more attention upon the promising boy. Bedil was interested in incantations[8] from his infancy. He would attend people at sick-bed, used to put his personal amulet around their necks, and recited the Holy Qurān (i.e. سورۃ الحمد), for invoking the blessings of God. Ailing persons, Bedil says, were thus relieved of their trouble. In this way he had developed interest in amulets and charms. Now, one day, Bedil overheard[9] Maulānā Kamāl telling a charm to Mīrzā Qalandar for exercising the evil spirits. It so happened that, on a certain day, when Bedil was playing with his mates, he was told that a woman was being tortured to death by some evil spirit. Several exorcisers were called, but of no avail. A man, who could enter the woman's apartments, was sent for, and Bedil decided to try the charm of the Maulānā. When the man came Bedil asked him to breathe the اسم اعظم on the nail of the woman's thumb. She was immediately relieved. When

1. Bedil, *Chahār 'Unṣur*, Ṣafdari Edition, p. 24.
2. Page 11, supra.
3. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, Ṣafdarī Edition, p. 7.
4. Ibid.
5. Page 5, supra.
6. *Chahar 'Unṣur*, Ṣafdarī Edition, p. 9.
7. Ibid., p. 6.
8. Ibid., p. 7. Bedil's interest in charms continued till he was 25 (*Chahār 'Unṣur*, 110-20).
9. Ibid., p. 8.

Maulānā Kamāl heard the whole story, he was immensely pleased and gave Bedil his book of amulets which he had collected during the whole course of his life. From that day Maulānā Kamāl began to shower his favours upon Bedil.

It is evident that Bedil was initiated into mysticism by Mirzā Qalandar and Maulānā Kamāl, who, by their personal example of self-renunciation, had inculcated in him disinterested love which is the basis of Ṣūfism. Khushgū[1] says that in the art of versification too Maulānā Kamāl was the teacher of Bedil.

When Bedil composed his first quatrain, he had been discouraged by some people who had remarked that such a nice piece of poetry could not be produced by a lad of ten. Nevertheless, at that very time,[2] he felt some mysterious vibrations in his soul which impelled him to speak out in verse. He destroyed his compositions, for fear of the critics, although every hemistich was colourful like the rainbow and lofty like the crescent. During those days he wrote[3] in the style of the classical Persian poets.

On account of his early contact with the custodians of esoteric doctrine, Bedil was led to believe that he too was destined to share their secrets. This belief had a profound influence over his career as a poet, and from the very beginning he thought that whenever he composed a couplet, he divulged a secret. It was perhaps because of this that originally he adopted Ramzī as his Takhallus. But Khushgū says,[4] "One day Bedil was studying the *Gulistān*. When in its preface he reached the following hemistich :

بیدل از بے نشان چہ گوید باز

[What should a man without heart (i.e. lover)
Say about the untraceable God ?]

he was moved to excitement, and after he had prayed for guidance from the spirit of Ḥāfiẓ, he decided to change his Takhallus from Ramzī to Bedil."

There was another saint, named Shāh-e-Mulūk,[5] in whose company Bedil learnt much about the Unseen. Shāh-e-Mulūk was above all worldly considerations, cared little for food and drink, even remained naked and lived for a long time under a tree in Sarā-e-Benares, which is at a distance of about four miles from Rānī Sāgar, the town

1. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 360.
2. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, Ṣafdarī Edition, p. 48.
3. Ibid.
4. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 361. Ḥusain Qulī Khān, however, says in *Nishtar-e-'Ishq* (Ms. f. 204-6) that Bedil sought guidance from the spirit of Sa'dī, but I prefer Khushgū because it is *Diwān-e-Ḥāfiẓ* which is invariably used for such purposes.
5. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, Ṣafdarī Edition, pp. 14-15.

called مدینة الاولیاء (the city of saints) by Bedil because of its being the native town of Shaikh Kamāl. Mīrzā Qalandar lived in Rānī Sāgar for some time on account of his having deep faith in the sainthood of Shaikh Kamāl. Bedil too was there, with Mīrzā Qalandar, as his ward and pupil. As Sarā-e-Benāres is not much away from Rānī Sāgar, Shāh-e-Mulūk used to come to see Mīrzā Qalandar and lived with him for weeks on end. The Shāh was indifferent towards people but when left alone he would go on talking and making references to profound truths. One day in the course of such a soul-illuminating talk to himself, when Shāh-e-Mulūk observed that Bedil was listening with rapt attention, he asked him to pen down his extempore utterances. Most eagerly Bedil took pen and paper, and for three days he wrote hemistitch by hemistitch, till they were in all forty couplets, full of Vedanta terminology and in Rekhta, i.e. Urdū. Bedil says that Shāh-e-Mulūk uttered a thousand similar verses day and night, but none was wise enough to pay attention to them. He expresses his gratefulness to the saint in the following quatrain:

بیدل چقدر بر تو نفس سوخته اند   کاین شعلهٔ بیان کلامت آموخته اند
ای شمع زپرتو تو اندیشه گداخت   گویا بگداز دلت افروخته اند

[Bedil, how much pains have they suffered for your sake?
They have taught you to versify in such an impressive manner.
O, candle, by your flame the imagination has melted;
It means they lighted you by melting their heart.]

Bedil counts Shāh Yaka Āzād[1] also among his spiritual guides. He was a saint of high standing and had come to Āra—a town[2] at a distance of about forty miles towards the west of Patna. Crowds came to see the saint. As Mīrzā Qalandar had no fixed abode, he was at that time residing in this town, and, not unexpectedly, Bedil also was with him. Mīrzā Qalandar soon developed intimate relations with Shah Yaka Āzād, and was full of praise for him. Whenever the saint returned visits, Mīrzā Qalandar felt overjoyed and accorded him a hearty welcome. Bedil records[3] a miracle displayed by Shāh Yaka Āzād. Once the saint was crossing the Ganges in a boat, when the river was overflowing its banks. He had no money, and in the midst of the river, he was pestered by the persistent demands of the oarsmen. All of a sudden, he stepped out of the boat, was seen walking on the river, and soon disappeared beyond the horizon.

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1. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, Ṣafdarī Edition, p. 15.
2. O. Malley, *Bengal District Gazetteers, Shahabad*, pp. 126-30. It is headquarters of the district and a historic town. It has a Jāma' Masjid—a saracenic building erected in the times of Aurangzeb.
3. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, p. 16.

Shāh Yaka Āzād, too, was very kind to Bedil, and many secrets about the Ultimate Reality were unfolded before him by the saint. One day in the scorching heat of the sun, Shāh Yaka Āzād came suddenly to see Bedil and foretold that the excellence of the inherent powers of Bedil would soon be recognised by men of insight. He also said that his own death would occur shortly and advised Bedil always to ponder over the meaning of the following verses[1] :

این توی، ظاهر که پنداری توی،   هست اندر تری، تو از بیتوی،
او تو است امانه این تو که تنست   آن توی، کان بر تر از ما و منست
توی تو در دیگری آمد دفین   من غلام مرد خودبین چنین

[This visible self of yours, which you regard to be your self,
Because of lack of self-realisation has enveloped your selfhood.
That self is yours and not this, which is body,
That self which is above all egotistical sayings.
Your selfhood is entombed in another.
I am a slave to the person who realises his self in this way.]

It was essentially an advice to show greater solicitude to the inner self. The same week Shāh Yaka Āzād gave up the Ghost.

Mīrzā Qalandar, who, on all occasions, displayed readiness to pay homage to every saint, was also much influenced by the spiritual integrity of another holy man of distinction named Shāh Fāẓil,[2] who disliked that legends about his sainthood should spread abroad. Bedil, who was particularly receptive to spiritual teaching, was also swayed over by this holy personage and in his company realised that :

صحبت صافدلان جوهر اکسیر غناست   بی صدف قطره محال است که گوهر گردد

[The company of the pure-hearted is the essence of the alchemy of self-sufficiency ;
It is impossible that a drop should turn into a pearl without a mother-pearl.]

It appears[3] from the statement of Bedil that, like all the Ṣūfīs of that age, Shāh Fāẓil was not only well versed in Exegesis and Ḥadīs but also in Metaphysics and Rhetoric. Bedil says that the prose of Shāh Fāẓil rhymed like verse, and, in the clarification of thought, his verse excelled prose. In a discourse Shāh Fāẓil beautifully described "imperfection[4] of the phenomenal world and unreality of the

1. *Chahā-ʿUnṣur*, p. 20.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, pp. 26, 83.

selfhood," and urged that one should always contemplate of Him Who is remote from all imperfections. Bedil quotes Shāh Fāẓil saying :

در محفل وحدت شہود جز یکی محقق نیست پرتو اختلاف از کجا بظہور پیوندد . . . . جمعیکه غیر حق چیزی ندیده اند و ندارند خود را بکدام صفت منسوب نمایند .[1]

[In the assembly of Unity of Appearance none but One is absolutely certain. How can then a ray of diversity appear? . . . . The people, who see and possess nothing except God, cannot attribute to themselves any quality.]

In that very meeting someone submitted his request to Shāh Ṣāḥib in the form of the following couplet:

می توان در کلبۀ ماهم شبی را روز کرد   بوریا گر نیست نقش بوریا افتاده است

[In our hut also a night can be changad into day.
If it has not a mat, it has at least its painting.]

Shāh Ṣāḥib was reluctant to grant the request, and asked Bedil to reply. He forthwith composed the following verses extempore[2] :

خود بیا و حال ما بنگر که در ملک فنا   روزگار ما ز روز و شب جدا افتاده است
کلبه وسواس است و نقش بوریا زنگار طبع   کار ما با شیوۀ صدق و صفا افتاده است
بوریا و کلبه را در عالم ما بار نیست   هر کجا مائیم نقش مدعا افتاده است
کلبه آتش زن نقوش بوریا را محو کن   در بساط فقر ما بینی چها افتاده است
تا نخواهد سوخت از ما بر نخواهد داشت دست   نیستی ما را چو آتش در قفا افتاده است

[Come here yourself and see that in the domain of annihilation
Our times are different from the ordinary serial time.
The hut is only a whim and the painting of a mat the rust of mind.
We are concerned only with sincerity and purity.
The mat and the hut cannot have access into our realm.
Wherever we be, there is not a vestige of any ambition.
Burn down the hut and efface the painting of the mat.
Then alone you will see what is hiden in the carpet of our, *Faqr*.
So long as it does not consume us, it will not leave us,
Annihilation pursues us like fire.]

Bedil was in this way attending the discourses of the eminent mystics of his time, and studying privately and writing poetry,

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1. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, Ṣafdarī Edition, p. 49.
2. Ibid., p. 50.

when all of a sudden he felt tremors under his feet. It was the winter of 1675 A.D., and Bedil had just entered his teens. Rumours about the illness and then death of the majestic and beloved Emperor Shāh Jahān had been afloat in the land. It was being widely talked about that a prosperous and glorious reign had come to an end. A complete blackout[1] of the news about the illness of Shāh Jahān had been scrupulously arranged by Dārā Shikoh, the eldest son of Shāh Jahān and the aspirant to his throne. Naturally enough, wild rumours spread in the country.

Suddenly the people of Bihār learnt that prince Shujā' the Governor of Bengal, had proclaimed himself emperor and was proceeding with his armies to Shāh Jahānābād to seize the Peacock Throne. Ominous forebodings, therefore, filled the minds of the people.

Shujā' reached Benares on January 24, 1658, but was surprised by Sulaimān Shikoh, who had been deputed[2] by his father Dārā Shikoh to meet Shujā'. At his discomfiture, Shujā' fled back and reached Patna on February 19, 1658. As Sulaimān Shikoh was recalled on account of the threatening coalition of Aurangzeb and Prince Murād, he made peace with Shujā', and left for Dehlī. Shujā' then made Patna a scene of great political activity and began to make preparations[3] for the final fight for the throne. He appointed one Mīrzā 'Abdul Laṭīf as the commander of his armies and vigorous efforts were made to collect treasure for paying the soldiers. Mīrzā 'Abdul Laṭīf was a kinsman[4] of Qalandar,[5] and it was on this account that for three months Bedil also was in Tirhut[6] with the armies of Shujā'. Bedil, therefore, saw with his own eyes how the upheaval went on.

Like Shujā', Murād also had hurriedly crowned himself in Gujerat. But Aurangzeb, who was in the Deccan at that time as the viceroy for the second time, assumed no royal functions. He made alliance with Murād and proceeded towards the North. At Dharmat,[7] towards the close of April 1658, both the brothers fought stubbornly against Mahārāja Jaswant Singh (who had come to check them) and defeated him. Then Dārā Shikoh himself came out at the

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1. Sāqī, Musta'id Khān, *Maāsir-e-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 3.

2. Ibid.

3. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, Ṣafdari Edition, p. 118; Sāqī, Musta'id Khān, *Maāsir-e-Ālamgīrī*, p. 11; Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhabul Lubāb*, II, p. 45.

4. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, Ṣafdari Edition, p. 118.

5. See supra, where it has been told that Mīrzā Qalandar was a step-brother of Bedil's father. Hence Bedil does not acknowledge Mīrzā 'Abdul Laṭīf as his own relative.

6. A country towards the north of Patna.

7. Sāqī, Musta'id Khān, *Maāsir-e-'Ālamgīr*, p. 5.

head of a huge army, and fought the sanguinary and decisive battle of Sāmūgarh[1] on May 29, 1658. The fortitude and composure of Aurangzeb as a general and the fiery valour of Murād won the day. Poor Dārā turned a fugitive and Shah Jahān was made a captive. Not long afterwards, Aurangzeb thought it advisable to put Murād also into prison, where he was finally put to death.

Aurangzeb was hot in pursuit of Dārā Shikoh in the Punjab, when he learnt that Shuja' was proceeding towards the capital to wrest the crown from him. Leaving others to follow up Dārā, he returned by rapid marches and gave a crushing defeat to Shujā' at Khajwa,[2] near Allahābād, on January 2, 1659. There was a general stampede[3] of the defeated forces, and Bedil, as an eye-witness, gives a vivid description of the same in the following poem :

هیچکس را در بساط آرمیدن جا نماند
گرد وحشت بال زد چندانکه نقش پا نماند
بر طبائع تنگ شد جولانگه سعئی جهان
آنقدر میدان که کس مژگان کند بالا نماند
تیغ نومیدی جهانی راز یکدیگر برید
رنگ بر رو حرف برلب ربط در اعضا نماند
آتش جرأت فسرد و جوهر غیرت گداخت
زانهمه صولت بغیر از رعب در دلها نماند
بسکه هر یک پیش رفت از عافیت گاه امید
در خیال آباد امروز کسی فردا نماند
الرحیلی زد بگوش خوابها کان غرور
استقامت چون شرر در طینت خارا نماند
ناله تا کهسار از خور رفتنی دربار داشت
هر کرا 'دیدم' درین صحرائے وحشت وا نماند

[In the field of repose room was left for none,
The dust of panic was flown so violently that footprints
disappeared.
For the people the race-course of the world narrowed to such
an extent
That even the place, where one could lift one's eyelashes,
was not left.
The sword of disappointment cut crowds asunder.
Red tinge on the face, speech on lips, and connection between
limbs was no more.

1. Sāqī, Musta'id Khān, *Maāsar-e-'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 6-7.
2. Ibid., pp. 13-15.
3. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, Ṣafdarī Edition, p. 120.

The fire of valour died out, and the essence of zeal melted away.
Out of that courageous stand nothing but awe remained in hearts.
Inasmuch as everyone had gone ahead of the place of refuge.
In nobody's thoughts about today there was idea of tomorrow.
The word "Departure," struck the ears of the negligent and proud, and
Firmness in the nature of stone disappeared like a spark.
The groans reached the edges of the mountain, and
Whomever I saw he vanished from this Sahara of panic.]

Shujā' fled[1] to the Arakans where he was killed by the wild Gonds. Bedil also wandered[2] about in the jungles on horseback, with Mīrzā 'Abdul Laṭīf, for full ten days, and then reached Patna after suffering indescribable hardships.

The ignominy and captivity of Shāh Jahān had a lasting effect upon Bedil. In his childhood, like the other people of his age, he had evolved a sentiment of reverential love towards Shāh Jahān, and the infidelity of his sons, therefore, pained Bedil beyond description. He was still feeling the pangs when, in his old age, at sixty or so,[3] he was writing the concluding chapter of his autobiography,[4] i.e. *Chahār 'Unṣur*. He wrote about Shujā':

شاه شجاع ابن شاه جهان بیماری پدر را سکته، مضمون سلطنت اندیشیده وجنیبت جنوبی بی تامل بعزم دارالخلافهٔ دهلی کشید تا پایهٔ منبر هوش بخطبهٔ باد برده بلند گرداند ۔[5]

[Shāh Shujā' son of Shāh Jahān, thought that imperial administration had been paralysed owing to the illness of his father, and, therefore, inconsiderately, he marched his mad horse upon the capital of Dehlī, so that he might raise the pedestal of the pulpit of greed with a vain Khuṭba.]

And although for an exceptionally long period of over sixty years,

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1. Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhabul Lubāb*, II, p. 58.
2. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, Ṣafdarī Edition, pp. 120-121.
3. Bedil finished *Chahār 'Unṣur* in 1116 A.H.—1704 A.D. when he was sixty-two years old.
4. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, pp. 3, 4. He says:

احوال دیگران زچه برخود فزودهٔ   بیدل زخود بگوکه تو هم کم بنودهٔ

[Why have you added to yours the account of others? Bedil, talk about yourself, because you too are not an insignificant person.]

5. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, Ṣafdarī Edition, p. 118.

he had heard encomiums of the "living saint" Aurangzeb, he wrote ironically about him:

اورنگ زیب عالمگیر بو عزم فرمان روائی دهلی سبقت کرده حقوق خدمت پدر پیش از دیگران بجا آورد ۔1

> [With the object of becoming the sovereign of Dehlī Aurangzeb 'Ālamgir took the lead, and discharged his duty to his father before others.]

The mighty quake was, however, over, and, after the coronation of Aurangzeb, normal conditions soon returned, and Bedil too resumed his studies. After this we shall hear very little about Mīrzā Qalandar, because he left for Bengāl,[2] and if at all he came back, Bedil did not live under his protection. One can, therefore, safely assert that the war of succession was a milestone in the life of Bedil.

There is nevertheless one incident of Bedil's life connected with Mīrzā Qalandar, which probably belongs to this period.[3] One day, at Rānī Sāgar, on the bank of a tank, whose water was crystal clear, Mīrzā Qalandar arranged a convivial meeting.[4] Graceful female singers were invited. One of them, in the excitement of the dance, upturned a cup and wine flowed out. Fierce glances were, therefore, cast at her from the assembly. At that moment Bedil apologised on her behalf in this vein:

زدست ساقی اگر جرعهٔ چکید بخاک — در ابروی٭ تو چرا موج ناز چیں انداخت
نه رعشه درکف ساقی نه لغزشی در جام — که گویم ازکفش انداخت آن وایں انداخت
دمی که چشم تو سرِّ پیاله کرد نگاه — قدح زدست شد و باده بر زمیں انداخت
بحسن شوخ زمانی عتاب کن که چرا — بجام آتش ازیں لعل آتشیں انداخت
پیاله چیست که دربزم شوخی٭ نازت — هزار آئینه آب رخ ایں چنیں انداخت

> [From the hands of Sāqī if a draught of wine fell down on earth,

1. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, p. 118.

2. Page 33, infra.

3. I have not been able to decide finally where to string this incident. Reference to Rānī Sāgar would induce me to connect it with the constant visits of Mīrzā Qalandar to that place, where he went to see Maulānā Kamāl. But the sacred object of his journey forbids me. The diction and phraseology of the verses suggest that the incident took place when Bedil had obtained sufficient mastery over the language. But as there is no indication of Bedil's meeting his uncle after his departure to Bengāl, I would say that it happened at the conclusion of War of Succession. But then its spirit is not in accord with the spirit of the post-war days.

4. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, pp. 54-55.

Why the wave of coquetry wrinkled your brow?

Neither the hands of Sāqī shivered nor the cup slipped, then,
Who, should I say, threw it down the hands and spilt wine?
As soon as your eyes turned towards the cup,
Down it came and out ran the wine.
Blame sportive beauty for a while, why
It put fire in the cup by ruby lips?

Not to speak of the cup, in the presence of your over-bearing coquetry,
A thousand mirrors lost their lustre in this way.]

During these days, in 1070 A.H.[1] (1659 A.D.), Mīrzā Qalandar left for Bengāl leaving his personal effects in Mehsī[2]—a town about twenty kos[3] from Patna lying on the other side of the Ganges, and in those days the seat of the Qāẓī. A business prompted Bedil to undertake journey to this place. Although Aurangzeb was now the undisputed monarch of the country, yet, as the revolution had just ended, the roads were still infested by robbers and dacoits. But, with faith in God, Bedil set out for Mehsī, having only a servant with him.

He was a pedestrain, and never before he had the chance of making a journey in this way. Blisters soon appeared, and, after crossing the Ganges, when he had travelled only three kos, he sat down under a tree to take rest. He was utterly exhausted. His clever servant at first encouraged him, and then made sarcastic remarks, but Bedil would not move. As it was dangerous in those days to remain there any longer, Bedil mustered up strength and treaded the intervening distance of two kos to Sara-e-Jamnapur till late in the evening.

Next morning at daybreak he was feeling no weariness. He wanted to hire a horse, but the people on their part tried to dissuade him from continuing the journey any further. Bedil, however, went on. At midday, when he had covered another three kos and when it was intensely hot, he stopped under the cool shade of a tree for repose. When the sun declined and he was about to resume his journey, one Jān Muḥammad arrived there with a mare and offered it to Bedil. Jān Muḥammad was a follower of Shāh Muḥammad, the next-door neighbour of Mīrzā Qalandar in Mehsī. The darvish was an old man, and Bedil did not like that the poor fellow should walk all the way and he himself should ride. Even the importunities of the compassionate darvīsh could not have prevailed but he ran away

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1. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, Ṣafdarī Edition, pp. 124-28.
2. O. Malley, *Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers, Champaran*, p. 154.
3. A kos is equal to a mile and a half.

leaving the mare behind when Bedil had gone aside to urinate. Bedil was now left with no alternative but to mount the mare. After travelling a distance of three kos, a place called Sera-e-Begolī was reached in the evening. The darvish had already arrived there. They passed the night in that serai (inn).

Next day Bedil covered the remaining nine kos on the same mare which had again been cleverly placed at his disposal. They reached Mehsī in the afternoon. The mare was gratefully handed over to Jān Muḥammad at the door of Khwāja Shāh Muḥammad, and Bedil went to the house of his uncle. Next day the Khwāja's sons came to see him as usual, and Bedil was overflowing with gratitude for the kindness shown to him by Jān Muḥammad.[1]

Before proceeding further, I would like to pause a little. This journey is manifestly a very important event of Bedil's life, and we can draw several conclusions. Bedil had a servant with him and he says blisters soon appeared when he had travelled only a few miles. These things show that he was brought up in a well-to-do family. And, in spite of the troublesome nature of the times, Bedil undertook the journey and also he did no arrange for a guide. This shows not only self-confidence but also his knowledge of the road to Mehsī. Again, the sons of Khwāja Shāh Muḥammad come to welcome him as usual and we, therefore, learn that they were playmates. It is a positive proof of the fact that Bedil passed not a negligible part of his childhood in Mehsī. The whole picture, therefore, stresses the point that Patna and Mehsī are intimately connected with the early days of Bedil.

It appears that when Mīrzā Qalandar had left for Bengāl, Bedil began to live in Patna with his maternal uncle[2] Mīrzā Ẓarīf who had attained a high degree of proficiency in Ḥadīs and Fiqh (Jurisprudence). His house was, therefore, a rendezvous for the men of erudition who came there for holding scholarly discourses. Bedil also attended those meetings and most attentively he heard and assimilated what was discussed there. Bedil describes how in such a meeting problems of metaphysics and philosophy were solved by a distinguished divine Shāh Abul Faiẓ.[3] Early timidity of Bedil had now disappeared and he displayed his literary genius on every occasion. At the end of

1. Bedil gives a supernatural tinge to the incident towards the end. He says that the sons of Khwāja Shah Muḥammad vehemently denied that they had a disciple named Jān Muḥammad. Similarly, at page 121 of *Chahār 'Unṣur* Bedil says that when he was in Tirhut during the War of Succession, he saw, with others, a peri in an unusually elegant and magnificent bungalow. We shall again come across such like apparitions in the course of Bedil's biography.

2. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, Ṣafdarī Edition, p. 29.

3. Ibid., p. 50

this meeting he composed the following quatrain[1] which Shāh Abul Faiẓ very much appreciated :

ای دل زغم و نشاط دوران بگذر   ازبیش و کم و مشکل و آسان بگذر
درگلشن دهر چون نسیم دم صبح   آزاده درآ و دامن افشان بگذر

> [O heart, think not of the sorrows and pleasures of the world,
> Think not also of increase and decrease or of the difficulties and convenience.
> In the garden of the world like the morning breeze,
> Come with a free mind and pass on with a light spirit.]

Mīrzā Zarīf was a trader,[2] and, perhaps, as such in 1071 A.H.[3] (1660 A.D.) he went to Cuttack, the capital of Orissa. Mīrzā Bedil also accompanied him. Cuttack[4] is situated on the Mahānadī and is a trade centre of some importance. People say it was founded by a prince named Makar of the Kesari or Lion dynasty. Since the reign of Akbar the Great it had been the capital of Mughul ṣubedārs, and when Bedil went there Khān Daurān Sayyid Muḥammad[5] was the Ṣubedār of Orissa. Cuttack has a picturesque appearance in the apex of the Mahānadī and its branch the Katjurī. It has an extensive plain and lofty trees which line the foot and the sides of a chain of high mountains. Surrounded on all sides by such fascinating scenes, Bedil lived in a house on the riverbank,[6] and, I am sure, the irresistible charm of these surroundings captured his imagination and developed his aesthetic taste. In his *Chahār 'Unṣur*, Bedil makes a mention of the flowering moadows[7] of Cuttack.

We already know that Mīrzā Zarīf was a learned man. I think, he wanted to teach the commentary of the Holy Qurān to Bedil, and, with a view to do this, one day he had a disputation with the boy on this subject.[8] Suddenly, a darvīsh came and said that a saint had come to see them. They welcomed the saint most heartily. He was very kind to Bedil especially and remarked, "Thank God, both of us have arrived here together. Now we shall always enjoy each other's company." He then displayed his mastery of the exegesis by explaining most lucidly a few verses from the Holy Qurān. Both, Mīrzā Zarīf and Bedil, were so much impressed that in that very meeting they developed sincere and everlasting attachment for him. When the

1. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, p. 50.
2. Ibid., p. 54.
3. Ibid., p. 40
4. Ibid., pp. 29, 42.
5. O. Mally, *Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers, Cuttack*, pp. 225-28. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, p. 54.
6. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, p. 43.
7. Ibid., pp. 29, 38.
8. Ibid., p. 43.

saint was departing, he turned towards Bedil and said, "I have discovered your secret. Let me be a partaker in it." By an act of clairvoyance, the saint had discovered the secret of Bedil's love for God, which he had, so far, kept concealed from every other person and which had caused endless burning[1] in his breast.

The name of this saint was Shāh-e-Qasim Huwallāhī[2] and he had arrived in Orissa from India in 1071 A.H. (1660 A.D.), the same year when Bedil also arrived there. Bedil waxes eloquent when he speaks of the saint. A fair analysis of these laudatory effusions discloses that the saint was well versed in Grammar, Exegesis, and Metaphysics, and could profusely cite apt quotations. He had passed through all the stages of mysticism, had attained the Unitive State and was the Pole[3] (قطب) of his times. A saint of high spiritual standing as he was, he could, now and then, display miracles.[4] Association with such an eminent spiritual leader was, therefore, very useful for Bedil, because he was still at the formative stage of his life. Whatever Bedil wrote,[5] in verse or prose, was shown to Shāh-e-Qāsim Huwallāhī who always generously encouraged him.

During his stay at Cuttack, Bedil studied selections[6] from the Tazkiratul Auliyā of Shaikh Farīduddīn 'Aṭṭār, and one day[7] when he was deep in thought Shāh-e-Qāsim unexpectedly came in. Shāh Sāhib enquired what the matter was. Bedil replied that he was pondering over the following saying of the saint Shiblī (334/945) :

التصوف شرک لانه صیانت القلب عن غیر ولا غیر

[Ṣūfism is polytheism, because it is the guarding of the heart from the vision of 'Other' and 'other' does not exist.[8]]

Shāh-e-Qāsim was highly pleased to know it, and asked Bedil to prepare a collection of the sayings of saints. Bedil readily acted upon his advice, and, at the end of the preface of his work, he wrote a poem in which unambiguous references to the different problems of mysticism were made. This poem also won the approbation of Shāh Ṣāhib. The collection unfortunately has not come

1. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, pp. 42, 44. At page 44 we find that Mirzā Zarif complained to Shāh-e-Qāsim about the indifference of Bedil to studies which he sometimes showed. Then Shāh-e-Qāsim said in private to Bedil, "You are a strange fellow. You have concealed your secret even from your own relatives."

2. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, p. 29.

3. An eminent figure in mystic hierarchy.

4. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, pp. 32-40.

5. Ibid., p. 44.

6. Ibid., p. 69.

7. Ibid., p. 59.

8. I acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Nicholson for this translation. See Nicholson, R.A., *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, p. 38.

down to us, but the poem has been given[1] in Chahār 'Unṣur and has sixty-two couplets.

On another occasion, Shāh-e-Qāsim was sitting[2] in the house of Mīrzā Zarīf and some litterateurs had also assembled there. By and by, discussion centred on the figures of speech. The poet Wālah[3] of Herāt was also there, who, Bedil says, was a Tazagū[4] poet; and whose mastery over language and colourful images (تمکین عبارت و مضامین رنگین) have been acclaimed by Bedil. Modern people may regard it as frivolities of taste, but right from the days of Faizī, the renowned poet-laureate of Akbar the Great, who wrote his commentary[5] avoiding all dotted letters, solicitude had been shown for the figures of speech in which letters either with or without dots were employed. In that assembly, too, such like figures of speech were discussed. Bedil also successfully tried his hands at these figures. On that occasion he composed the following couplet having all dotted letters which he later on incorporated[6] in his Masnavī *Tilism-e-Ḥairat*:

بجنبش تیغ زن چین جبینش　　　غضب پشتی نشین نقش چینش

[In motion, the wrinkles of its brow cut like sword, and
Anger adds to the effect of its wrinkles.]

When Shāh-e-Qāsim heard this verse he remarked that not only it rhymed well but also it was picturesque.

In their meeting Shāh-e-Qāsim always asked Bedil to come forward with an appropriate quotation. This shows not only the regard of the saint for the brilliant young man but also the grand and goodly number of verses which Bedil always remembered. Moreover, such was the influence of Shāh Ṣāḥib upon Bedil, and the affinity between their souls was so close, that even in his dreams[7] Bedil found himself quoting verses at the instance of Shāh Ṣāḥib. One night in a dream Bedil found himself in a meeting with Shāh Ṣāḥib, where a discussion was going on about 'Modesty.' The saint asked Bedil to come forward with an appropriate verse, and Bedil said extempore:

حیا خواندم نگه گرد درخط ماند　　　ادب کردم رقم خط در نقط ماند

[I read 'Modesty' and my glances remained stuck in the dust of the ink.
I was courteous and the ink of the writ remained in the dots.]

1. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, Ṣafdarī Edition, p. 58.
2. Ibid., pp. 55-56.
3. Sarkhush, *Kalimatush Shua'rā*, p. 124.
4. See infra for Tāzagūī.
5. 'Abdul Ghanī, *A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court*, II, pp. 41, 66.
6. Bedil, *Kulliyāt*, *Tilism-e-Ḥairat*, Ṣafdarī Edition, p. 33. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, p. 68.
7. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, p. 69.

A few days later some persons were studying the pamphlet, *Selections from Tazkiratul Auliyā*, in the presence of Shāh-e-Qāsim, and when that place was reached where a certain person asked[1] Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī what 'Modesty' meant, then Shāh Ṣāḥib remarked, "Bedil, its real import is the same you expressed so tersely that night." Bedil was of the opinion that Shāh-e-Qāsim Huwallāhī ranked in spiritual attainments with Bāyazīd[2] (261/875), Ibrāhīm Adham (160/777), Junaid (298/910), and Shiblī (334/945), the celebrated mystics of Islām.

Once, in connection with his commercial concern, Mīrzā Zarīf went to Kesarī[3]—a town which, Bedil says, was at a distance of six days' journey from Cuttack and had a dry hot climate. Of course, Bedil too went with Mīrzā Zarīf and was there for a period of five months. On account of the extreme heat of the place, Bedil fell dangerously ill with typhoid fever. On the night of crisis Bedil dreamt that Shāh-e-Qāsim had arrived to enquire after his health, and spread his mantle upon him. Soon the fever was gone and Bedil was convalescing. Seven days later a messenger brought an epistle from Shāh Sāhib stating that distance could not separate two harmonious souls; they might not see each other, but in reality they were always close together.

In Orissa we observe a strange spiritual[4] awakening in Bedil. He considered himself above all worldly considerations. Material possessions, hopes and fears, worldly honour and dishonour alike, ceased to have any value for him. Whether awake or asleep, he was occupied only with the thoughts of the Absolute. It was a burning passion with him which consumed his soul. In a fit of ecstasy he would cry out :

از هرچه سرائمت نزونی   خودگوئی چه گونمت که چونی

[Thou transcendest my praises of Thee,
Say Thyself, what should I say, how art Thou ?]

In this state of mind one night in Cuttack in 1075 A.H. (1664 A.D.) he saw in a dream that all the surroundings were illuminated and he was reciting the couplet given above. Suddenly, he heard the following reply :

از ما با ماست هرچه گوئیم   ما همچو توئی دگرچه گوئیم

1. 'Aṭṭār, *Tazkiratul Auliyā*, p. 97.
2. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, p. 29.
3. Ibid., p. 41. I tried my level best to find out Kesarī from Gazetteers, Geography books, and maps, but failed. The Kings of Kesari dynasty built temples at Bhubaneswar, Naltigiri, Udyagiri, and Ratnagiri. It is just possible one of these places was called Kesari in those days. The last three places are within 20·39 N. and 85·20 E. near the sea-coast and their climate in the summer season is very hot and dry. Also these places are farther removed from Cuttack.
4. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, p. 63.

[Whatever we say is from us to ourselves,

We are like thee ; what else should we say ?]

This was pantheistic in import. On hearing it, he awoke. Bedil says that at that time he was experiencing a novel spiritual felicity. Early contact with saints was after all bearing fruit.

Bedil has remarked that he was with Shāh-e-Qāsim in Orissa for three years.[1] But he reached there in 1071 A.H. (1660 A.D.) and from the preceding paragraph we learn that he was there till 1075 A.H. (1664 A.D.). When all these things are put together we arrive at the conclusion that he must have gone to Orissa towards the end of 1071/1660, and returned in the beginning of 1075/1664.

Bedil was now twenty-one years old—in the full bloom of life. Middle-sized,[2] broad-shouldered, and with a stout body, he had a very handsome face. He shaved himself clean. The archs of his eyebrows beautifully approached each other, and his brilliant broad forehead was indicative of the greatness which was destined for him. He spoke in low tones which only heightened the effect of his impressive and dignified appearance.

A descendant of the strong and energetic Mughuls as he was, he possessed herculean strength, to develop which he had made sustained efforts ever since his childhood.[3] He had practised the art of wrestling, and every day for the sake of exercise, he would sit and stand four thousand times. He was also extraordinarily fleet-footed. Khushgū says that during the days when Bedil was in Patna, a trader brought for sale a fine Mesopotamian[4] horse worth Rs. 1,000. He had a mind to buy it, and he wagered that if the horse proved his equal in race, he would pay Rs. 2,000 ; but if he outdistanced it, he would get the horse free. The owner agreed and himself jockeyed his horse. The race began in an extensive field and very soon Bedil was flying far ahead of the horse. Khushgū says that although Bedil won the race, still he was magnanimous enough not to take the animal as agreed upon.[5]

Fickleness of Fortune had always marred the happiness of Bedil. He lost his parents when he was but an infant. His kind and loving

1. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, p. 29.

2. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 364.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid. We know Bedil never returned to Patna after he had left it in 1075 A.H. (p. 31, infra). This race, therefore, took place at this time.

5. I do not know how to believe Khushgū for this story of a race with a fine horse.

uncle left him[1] and went away to Bengāl, when he still needed his protection. He was now happy under the care of his maternal uncle Mirzā Ẓarīf, and was busy in his studies when, alas, this guardian also passed away. He felt a bitter grief, and mourned this loss in a poem[2] wherein the following hemistitch occurs as a chronogram:

نیک فرجام عاقبت محمود

This numerically comes to 1075 A.H.

There was now none to support him. He had no source of income. How to arrange for the daily expenses was a constant headache. An old woman,[3] with crooked back, visited Bedil's house and used to supply commodities to him daily. She was very kind to him. In these straitened circumstances also she looked after him. But this could not continue any longer. Loans could serve only as a temporary expedient. His friends advised him to go to Dehlī, the Imperial capital, where he could show his worth. He loaded his simple effects (that is an ordinary carpet and an earthen jug) on a horse, and, with reins in his hands, went to say goodbye to the old woman. He said *impromptu*:

سر پر جب کوئی نہیں تب دشمن آپن کیس
پٹنہ نگری چھاڑ دیں اب بیدل چلے بدیس

[When there is no guardian, all are my enemies,
Bedil leaves Patna town and goes to a foreign land.]

The hunch-backed old woman was very tender-hearted. Tears rolled down her cheeks and she said sorrowfully:

سر پر مایا رام کے بہن کاہ بدے بے صبری بیدل بیے کر مت چھاڑو پوتا آپن نگری

[God is the guardian, why then so much impatience?
Bedil, don't leave it, my son. It is native town.]

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1. Bedil says that as Mirzā Ẓarīf insisted that he (Bedil) should accompany him to Orissa he was separated from his uncle Mirzā Qalandar. Whether Mirzā Qalandar left for Bengāl when he found out the determination of Mirzā Ẓarīf for taking away Bedil with him is not of much significance. Also we do not possess any statement regarding the reunion of the nephew and the uncle after the latter's return from Bengāl. It was therefore permanent separation. For Mirzā Ẓarīf's insistence, see *Chahār 'Unṣur*, p. 29.

2. Bedil, *Kulliyāt*, *Qiṭ'āt*, Ṣafdarī Edition, p. 48.

3. Shād 'Aẓīmābādī, *Nawā-e-Waṭan*, p. 69; *The Oriental College Magazine* for August 1932. Also reference in the *Urdū Magazine* for January 1923, p. 59.

But Bedil was determined to leave. He said[1]: راهبر خدا بس which gives 1075 A.H. (1664 A.D.) as the year of his departure, and set off all alone for Dehlī.

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī Qiṭ'āt*, p. 51. Here is the stanza:

از ملک بهار سوی دهلی چون اشک روان شدیم بیکس
همدوش شهود فضل بیچون همراه حضور فیض اقدس
سال تاریخ این عزیمت دریاب که راهبر خدا بس

[From Bihar to Dehlī,
I set off all alone like a tear,
Shoulder to shoulder with God's grace, and
In the company of His favours.
The date of this journey
May be found from: 'God, and none else, the guide.']

CHAPTER II

Bedil—An Itinerant

We left Bedil on his way to Dehlī. Shād 'Aẓīmābādī says[1] that it was a difficult journey for him. According to the same authority, Bedil, on his arrival in the Imperial Capital, found that poetical contests and symposiums were commonly held, in which renowned poets took part, and, as he possessed a critical judgment and sublime ideas, his genius cast a novel lustre over that galaxy of illustrious poets, and he, therefore, became famous in the capital within no time. This statement of Shād 'Aẓīmābādī is only partially correct. Bedil's talents were not recognised so suddenly; but it is a fact that, within a few years of his arrival in Dehlī, Bedil enjoyed unrivalled fame in the capital.

We do not know which of the eminent living poets took part in those contests.[2] Ghanī Kashmīrī was alive (d. 1079/1668-69), but he was living in Kashmīr. The great Ṣāib[3] (d. 1080/1669-70) also had left for Iran. As regards Nāṣir 'Alī Sirhindī[4] (d. 1108/1696-97), the chief rival[5] of Bedil, he came to live in Shāhjahānābād in the beginning of the twelfth century of the Hijra. And, so far as Muḥammad Afẓal Sarkhush[6] (d. 1126/1714), another rival[7] of Bedil, is concerned, he too settled in the capital towards the later part of his life. 'Āqil Khān Rāzī,[8] a favourite noble of Aurangzeb and a mystic poet, could be expected in Dehlī at that time, and we know Bedil developed very intimate friendly relations[9] with him, but as nothing definite is known, I cannot say that he came in contact with Bedil in those days.

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1. Shād 'Aẓīmābādī, *Nawā-e-Waṭan*, p. 71. *Oriental College Magazine*, August 1932.
2. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 103.
3. Ibid., pp. 98-99.
4. Ibid., p. 31.
5. Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mirātul Khayāl*, pp. 389-90; Sarkhush, *Kalimātush Shua'rā*, p. 15; Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 43.
6. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 143; Sarkhush, *Kalimātush Shua'rā*, p. 51.
7. Sarkhush *Kalimātush Shua'rā*, p. 15; Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 43.
8. Sarkhush, *Kalimātush Shua'rā*, p. 40; Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mirātul Khayāl*, p. 288; Ṣalāḥud Dīn, *Bazm-e-Tīmūriya*, pp. 267-69.
9. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, pp. 40-41.

Although we may not definitely know the names of the poets referred to by Shād, yet it is a fact that on his arrival in Shāh Jahānābād, Bedil was introduced to a new style in poetry. He himself has admitted[1] that so long as he was in Bihār, he was writing in the style of the classical Persian poets. Now he had found that quite a new style flourished in the Mughul capital—the style which has been called the Indian style, or سبک هندی.[2] Bedil enumerates a few poets of the eras of Bābur, Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb in the preface[3] to his *Masnavī Muḥīt-e-A'zam*, which he wrote a couple of years later, and from there we learn that he had studied the works of the poets of the Mughul period. He names[4] Zuhūrī (d. 1025/1616), Hilālī (a poet of Bābur's times), Zulālī (d. 1031/1621-22), Sālik (a poet of the days of Shāh Jahān), Tālib (d. 1036/1626-27), Ṣāmit (arrived in India in the days of Aurangzeb), Shaidā, a poet of the times of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, Salīm (d. 1057/1647), and Ṣāib.

When we consider the salient characteristics of the poetry of these poets, we discover that with them originality of thought, elegance of style and freshness of expression were of paramount importance. This they had termed تازه گوئی. If we go through *Kalimātush Shu'arā*, a Tazkirah of the poets of those times, we find that at every page glowing tribute has been paid to almost every poet for this element of freshness in thought and expression. Nazīrī[5] (d. 1023/1614) in particular had shown a knack for the construction of new words and suggestive compounds. Mullā Zuhūrī,[6] a contemporary of Nazīrī, had evolved a new graceful and ornate prose style and his *Sāqī Nāma*, which is a monument of perfect rhyme, sweetness of illustration, and warmth of emotion, had carved out for him a niche in the domain of literature. Kalīm (d. 1061/1650-51), Ṣāib and Ghanī Kashmīrī, the ultra-Mughalites,[7] had marvellously employed[8]

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1. Page 22, supra.

2. Three styles, viz. 'Irāqī, Khurāsānī, and Hindī, have been differentiated in Persian poetry. See Shihābī, 'Alī Akbar, *Rawābit-e-Adabī-e-Īrān-o-Hind*. Though the author's attitude, towards Persian poetry produced in India, is basically of negative character, yet it throws some light on the three styles in question.

3. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Ṣafdarī Edition ; *Muḥīt-e-A'zam*, pp. 2-3.

4. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, pp. 34, 41, 43, 63, 82, 91-101, 103 and 109, for Zuhūrī, Zulālī, Tālib, Salīm, Shaidā, Ṣāib, Ghanī, and Sālik respectively. Sarkhush, *Kalimātush-Shu'arā*, p. 68, for Ṣāmit. Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, III, 459, for Hilālī.

5. Ghanī, A., *History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court*, III, 102.

6. Ibid., 139, 194, 203.

7. Shiblī Nu'mānī, *Shi'rul 'Ajam*, III, 178, 179.

8. تمثالیه *Bedil* :

کینه در طبع ملائم نکند نشو و نما
فارغ از جوش غبار است زمینی که نم است

poetical aetiology (حسن تعلیل) and aptness of illustration (مثالیه) and they were known for their original conceits (معنی آفرینی) and colourful images (رنگین خیالی).

Bedil could not remain indifferent to these elements in Persian poetry. According to Khushgū,[1] critical observation indisputably affirms the fact that Bedil followed Zuhūrī in writing prose. Besides, the Masnavī *Muḥīt-e-A'ẓam* of Bedil, to which he himself gives the name[2] of *Sāqī Nāma*, is unmistakably an echo[3] of the *Sāqī Nāma* of Zuhūrī. In the preface to *Muḥīt-e-A'ẓam*, referred to above, we learn, however, that Bedil recognised only the genius of Ṣāib. Bedil may not acknowledge his indebtedness to the Tāzagū Shua'rā, but his works undoubtedly point out that he was enamoured of the above-mentioned features of Tāzagūī.[4] I think, it would be desirable if at this stage a few verses of Bedil are also quoted, with a view to showing that this *new element* is reflected in his lyrical poetry:

بد فکر تازه گویان گر خیالم پر تو اندازد
پر طاؤس گردد جدول اوراق دیوانها

بیدل از رنگین خیالی های فکرت می سزد
جدون رنگ بهار اوراق دیوان ترا

بیدل از هر مصرعم موج نزاکت می چکد
کرده ام رنگین بخون صید لاغر تیغ را

چنین کز کلک ما رنگ معانی می چکد بیدل
توان گفتن رگ ابر بهار ابی ناودا انارا

[If my thoughts are reflected in the minds of the Tāzagū poets, The rubric of the leaves of their Dīwāns would change into peacock feathers.

A theory has been advanced in the first hemistich and has been proved by a concrete example in the second.

حسن تعلیل *Bedil*

این قدر تعظیم نیرنگ خم ابروی کیست حیرت است از قبله رو گرداندن محرابها

The cause of an ordinary phenomenon is told poetically in such a manner that our curiosity is aroused.

معنی آفرینی *Bedil*

مرده هم فکر قیامت دارد آرمیدن چقدر دشوار است

Here a new meaning has been found out from the anxiety about the Day of Judgment. Mental process involved in حسن تعلیل and معنی افرینی is the same. See Shibli, *Shi'rul 'Ajam*, III, 170.

1. Khushgū, *Safīna*, f. 126A (Panjab University Library Ms. No. 4540).
2. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, 12.
3. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Ṣafdari Edition, *Muḥīt-e-A'ẓam*, pp. 2-3.
4. See again the elements of Tāzagūī (تازه گوئی) given at p. 33, supra.

Because of your colourful conceits, it behoves, O Bedil,
That the leaves of your Dīwān should have a rubric made of the spring's colour.

O Bedil, a wave of subtlety trickles down my hemistitches.
I have dyed my sword with the blood of a lean victim.

As the colour of conceits tricles down my pen in this way, O Bedil !
One can say that these gutters are in reality the arteries of the vernal clouds.]

The words تازه گویان , رنگین خیالی , موج نزاکت and رنگ معانی may be noted in these verses. Moreover, in describing the figures مثالیه , حسن تعلیل and معنی آفرینی at pages 33-34 under note number 8 I have purposely quoted from Bedil. All this shows that no sooner did Bedil say good-bye to Bihār and arrive in Dehlī, than his mind was directed to new channels of expression.

Although Bedil was studying the current trends in Persian poetry, yet his main preoccupation was mysticism. During those days in Dehlī he fasted[1] continually, breaking the fast only with a handful of gram. This fasting made him very weak. Ṣūfīs say[2]: المشاهدات مواريث المجاهدات, i.e. visions are the successors of the acts of self-mortification. When Bedil was in this way putting himself to tribulation for the sake of God, he had a strange experience. One night when the bazars had closed and he was returning after a stroll through them, he found himself bodily lifted in the air. If he stopped and contemplated he was on the ground, but as soon as he lifted his foot to walk he was again up in the air. He was much perturbed and trembled with fear. He made supreme efforts and with much difficulty was out of the bazars. When he was walking amidst the palaces of the nobles, he was again lifted bodily, as if he was flying, and he could see above the high walls in the compound of a palace where a graceful lady was sewing in the light of a lamp. He was afraid lest the people should upbraid him for this act. He sat down for a while, and then somehow or other he went to the house of an acquaintance, from where he deputed a boy to ascertain if what he had seen was a fact. The boy returned and corroborated Bedil's experience even to the minutest details. For a long time Bedil remained disturbed on account of this happening.

Soon in Dehlī he came across a Ṣūfī who was firmly established in the path and was already known to him. One day they

1. *Kullīyāt-e-Bedil, Chahār 'Unṣur*, pp. 116-18.
2. Abul Khair, in *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, p. 63

were talking about the ecstasied saints.[1] It was now 1076 A.H. (1665-66 A.D.) just a year after his marvellous dream in Orissa.[2] One of the persons, who were present there, said that a saint lived in the ruins of the city, who, for weeks on end, cared little for eating and drinking, but when anything of the kind, even in very big quantities, was presented to him, he swallowed it up in a moment. In spite of his humbleness, his appearance was so majestic that none dared look at him. As at some previous date he was seen in Kabul, he was called Shāh-e-Kābulī. After that talk, when they sat down for dinner, Shāh-e-Kābulī suddenly made his appearance. All stood up to show respect to him and meal was offered to him. From the very beginning the saint was looking graciously at Bedil and now preferred to share his dish. After taking a few morsels he held Bedil's hand in his own and made with him for his residence. There they sat down facing each other without uttering even a single word. The enchanting gaze of the saint was fixed at Bedil. It was in the afternoon that this eerie silence began and continued till late in the evening. Then all of a sudden Shāh-e-Kābulī burst into a loud laughter and recited the following couplet which Bedil had heard in a dream in Cuttack:

از ما با ماست هر چه گوئیم ما همچو توئی دگرچه گوئیم

[Whatever we say is from us to ourselves,
We are like Thee; what else should we say?]

On hearing this Bedil began to tremble. The night was pitch dark; everything looked so weird. Bedil, therefore, was very much frightened. With quivering lips he asked who the author of the couplet was. The saint laughed again merrily and replied that he himself was the author, there being no room for doubt. At this the saint stretched himself and asked Bedil also to lie down and enjoy sleep.

But Bedil sat extremely terrified. He was almost unconscious. He liked very much to weep but could not. He was in this agitated condition till very late in the night, when he fell asleep. Next morning when Bedil awoke, Shāh-e-Kābulī had already disappeared. Bedil made a thorough search for the saint for a long time, but failed to find him out.

This event removed all the doubts[3] which Bedil had in his mind, and made him confident about the progress he had made in the spiritual field. Telepathic communications emanating from Shāh-e-Kābulī appeared to Bedil as revelations from God Himself. He thought he had attained the unitive state and therefore he remarked:

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Chahār *'Unṣur*, p. 64.
2. Page 28, supra.
3. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Ṣafdarī Edition, *Chahār 'Unṣur*, p. 64.

عالم همه یک برق تجلی دیدم   محمل گردے نداشت لیلی دیدم
زیں سرمه که حق کشید در دیدهٔ من   هرجا لفظے دمید معنی دیدم

[I saw all over the world a lightning—like illumination.
The litter had no dust, I saw Laila herself.
Because of the collyrium that Truth applied to my eyes,
I saw the meaning wherever a word rose up.]

This event is of the utmost significance in the spiritual development of Bedil. Since his very childhood he had sincere yearnings[1] for establishing direct contact with Reality; and saints[2] like S͟hāh-e-Kamāl, S͟hāh-e-Yaka Āzād, S͟hāh-e-Fāzil and S͟hāh-e-Q̲āsim Huwallāhī had all told him he would reach the farthest stage in the mystic path. But the illumination at Cuttack and its voluntary verification by S͟hāh-e-Kābulī, who knew nothing about that vision and the antecedents of Bedil, was certainly a convincing proof of the fact that the much desired union with God had been assured. That is why Bedil says symbolically that he had the vision of Laila (the Beloved) herself. Moreover, with Bedil, the vision, the saint, and his own person were one and the same thing. It had been emphatically reiterated that:

ما همچو توئی دگر چه گوئیم

He has also asserted[3] elsewhere:

در یقیں آباد عالم تحقیق اولیای حضرت حق عین حق اند ـ اگر از نور بآفتاب چشم کشودهٔ آفتاب جز نور چه دارد و اگر از آب به چشمه راه بردهٔ چشمه غیر از آب چه برمی آورد ؟

[In the realm of Truth, where profound convictions are the rule, the lovers of Reality are nothing but Reality Itself. If from the light you turn to sun, the sun has nothing except light; and if from the water you have been guided to the spring, the spring does not send forth anything except water.]

One would rush to the conclusion that it is pantheism, pure and simple. But we have not yet considered enough data and we should, therefore, abstain from arriving at the final conclusion.

Bedil had made noteworthy achievements in the literary as well as the spiritual fields in the year 1076/1665-66 and he would have, therefore, felt gratified, but two very sad events took place at this time which made him extremely sorrowful. S͟hāh Jahān, the Mug͟hul

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1. See supra.
2. See supra. *C͟hahār 'Unṣur*, p. 44.
3. *C͟hahār 'Unṣur*, p. 28.

Emperor, for whom Bedil had[1] deep sentiments of respect and love, died of strangury, in captivity, in the Akbarābād fort on Monday,[2] the 26th of Rajab, 1076 A.H. (first of February, 1666), The poet was painfully reminded of all the good and grand qualities of Shāh Jahān; he, therefore, wrote[3] most dolefully about the glorious past in a very sad elegy, and for the gracious Emperor's death he found out the following chronogram :

بر سریر قرب یزدان جای وی

The elegy becomes more significant when we remember that Bedil could not expect any reward from Aurangzeb, who had made Shāh Jahān a captive.

In this very year Bedil's uncle, Mīrzā Qalandar, also breathed his last. If, for the sake of comparison, we study the short poem,[4] written by the poet on the death of his uncle, we find, even after a cursory reading, that Bedil's emotional frame was shaken more perilously by the death of Shāh Jahān. Moreover, in his verses Bedil speaks frequently about the transitoriness of the world, e.g.

رنگها یکسر شکست آماده اند   این گلستان عالم مینا گریست

[All colour is ready to disappear completely ;
This garden is a place where decanters are made and broken]

and, I think, the woeful end of Shāh Jahān, rather the complete drama of his life, contributed not a little in his arriving at this conclusion. The war of succession, with all its piteous scenes, including the tragic end of once stately Dārā Shikoh, who was beheaded in 1659 A.D., after being paraded most disgracefully[5] through the streets of Dehlī, turned our poet's thoughts automatically[6] to matters of eternal significance : the nature of life and man, and his relation to God. The truth contained in the following Quranic verse[7] was brought home to him with greater force :

كُلُّ من عليها فان و يبقى وجه ربك ذُوا لجلال والاكرام

[Everyone that is thereon will pass away. There remaineth but the countenance of thy Lord, the Mighty and Glorious.]

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1. See supra.
2. Sāqī, Musta'id Khān. *Ma'āṣir-e-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 53 ; Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhab-ul Lubāb*, II, p. 187.
3. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Ṣafdarī, Edition, *Qiṭ'āt*, p. 57.
4. Ibid., p. 47. The chronogram about the death of the poet's uncle is :

قلندر یافت وصل جاودانی

5. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughul Empire*, pp. 98-99.
6. Arberry, Arthur J., *The History of Sufism*, preface XIX.
7. *The Holy Qurān*, LV.§26-27.

In a Ghazal Bedil elaborates his views more fully about illusory nature of the world. I quote only two verses:

جان هیچ وجه هیچ نفس هیچ وبقا هیچ　　ای هستی تو ننگ عدم تا بکجا هیچ
دیدی عدم هستی و چیدی الم دهر　　با اینهمه عبرت ندمید از تو حیا هیچ

[Life is nothing. Body, and survival are all nothing.
Even non-existence scorns your life. How long shall "Nothing" continue?
You have observed the instability of life and have tasted the misfortunes of the world;
In spite of these warnings you do not feel ashamed.]

Although it is a profound truth, yet it looks very pessimistic but our poet-thinker[1] did not stop here. We shall, in due course, see how side by side with this negative attitude, Bedil evolved his positive philosophy about life.

Bedil was in Dehlī, but we do not know how long or where he stayed in the capital, nor do we know the means of his livelihood. We are trying to follow him chronologically, but many of the dates and other details, which we so earnestly desire to ascertain, have not been given either by Bedil himself or by his biographers. In the previous pages, a few events of the year 1076 A H. (1665 A.D.) have been recorded. Now we take a leap and reach the year 1078 A.H. (1667 A D.) in which Bedil completed his *Masnavī Muhīt-e A'zam*. The date[2] of the completion of this poem is the numerical value of its name محیط اعظم. As the Masnavī is a masterpiece, it should have established the poet's fame in the literary world but, it appears, no notice of him was taken at the time. On some later date he sent a letter to 'Āqil Khān Rāzī, a courtier of Aurangzeb, with this Masnavī and a few Ghazals, and from that letter we learn that his first literary production did not bring Bedil the fame he had hoped for. The letter[3] also shows that when it was written Bedil had already been introduced to 'Āqil Khān Rāzī, but the contact was only of short duration, because the poet was afraid lest the Nawāb should forget him. We do not know definitely how Bedil was introduced to the Nawāb. This much, however, is known that when Bedil arrived in Dehlī for the first time, and began to take part in poetical contests, 'Aqil Khān Rāzī was living there as the Superintendent[4] of the Imperial Bathroom. Now as the Nawāb was himself a

1. Iqbal, Dr. Sir Muhammad, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 11.
2. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Ṣafdari Edition, *Muhīt-e-A'zam*, 3.
3. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 12.
4. Shāh Nawāz, *Maāsirul Umarā*, II, 821-22.

poet[1] and also a mystic, he would have discovered Bedil in the course of those symposiums. In 1080 A.H. (1669-70 A.D.), Bedil wrote his second Masnavī *Tilism-e-Ḥairat* which he dedicated[2] to 'Āqil Khān Rāzī. It shows that by that time their relations had certainly strengthened. I would, therefore, conclude that Bedil was introduced to 'Aqil Khān Rāzī a considerable time before 1080 A.H. and also that the poet wrote this letter to the Nawāb before this date and sometime after the composition of *Muḥīt-e-A'ẓam*. When Bedil found out that this Masnavī was not received warmly, he sent a copy of it to the Nawāb and hoped and prayed that it might bring him credit.

Although the poet was not now an unknown figure in Dehlī, yet he did not settle there, and, like a darwish, he preferred wandering[3] about. The restlessness of his soul, which had increased after his meeting with Shāh-e-Kābulī, was still there. One day he was passing through the valley of Brindaban[4]—the land of monkeys and peacocks. The summer sun was shining brightly in the sky and it was awfully hot. Suddenly, Bedil developed eyesore, and the pain was so acute that he could not open his eyes. The affliction disturbed him much, and he thought he must have refuge somewhere until the malady disappeared. In this state he reached the market-place of Mathura.[5] He was a stranger there. He tried his utmost to find some shelter, but the people were ungenerous. In the tiny corner of a darner's shop, he found room to seat himself. His eyes were shut and the pain was growing in intensity. Still he did not mention it, lest the darner should turn him out. After some time a man came near the shop and stopped. The darner paid his respect and requested him to take his seat, adding that the stranger (Bedil) would be asked to make room. But the newcomer said that the poor afflicted person, meaning Bedil, was his friend and he wanted to enquire after his health. It was a familiar voice. When Bedil opened his eyes, he saw Shāh-e-Kābulī smiling compassionately. Bedil rose respectfully and had hardly greeted Shāh Ṣāḥib, when he was asked, in a tone of authority, to lie down and sleep. Shāh-e-Kābulī added that he would wait there. When Bedil awoke Shāh-e-Kābulī had gone. He had come like the guardian spirit and then disappeared. The eyesore had, however, healed. This happened two years after their first[6] meeting, i.e. in 1078 A.H. (1667-68

1. Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mirātul Khayāl*, pp.288-90; Sarkhūsh, *Kalimātush Shu'arā* 40, note.
2. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 4.
3. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Ṣafdarī Edition, *Chahār 'Unṣur*, p. 66.
4. *Imperial Gazetteer of India, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, I, 386.
5. Ibid., 389-90. It is the birthplace of Krishna and a great seat of idolatry.
6. Page 36, supra.

A.D.) because the first had taken place in 1075 A.H. (1665-66 A.D.).

In the course of his wanderings Bedil went to Akbarābād[1] also. He makes no hint about the date of this visit to Akbarābād, but from the mode of his life in that city I conclude that the visit was made during the period when he was comparatively an unknown figure.

One summer[2] he was living there in obscurity, and had only a meagre stock of ground tragacanth (کثیرهٔ سوده) with him for eating. When it finished he began to starve. He thought it was meanness of spirit to beg for alms. He was reduced to the narrowest straits. One day he got up and, passing through the bazar, went to the riverside. Neither ablutions, nor sprinkling water on the head, nor drinking it could remove the pangs of hunger. He, therefore, decided to return to his residence to get ready for death which now appeared inevitable. He felt giddy when he reached the main gate of the city, and his legs staggered. He sat down but was afraid lest the people in the bazar should create a hell of noise on seeing him in that state.

Pretending to be thinking of purification after easing nature, he went under the shade of a building and placed his hands against its well-built wall to take rest. When he had regained his strength a bit, he began to find a lump of earth with his fingers from under the bricks. He thought he had found a gravel, but in reality his fingers had picked up a coin of the times of Akbar the Great. Bedil believed God the Merciful had kept the precious coin for his needs since ages. By that coin Bedil was saved from starvation to death and he thanked God in this quatrain:

صد شکر که احتیاج کوشش تعلیم   آگاهم کرد آخر از فضل قدیم
هر چند بدیوار رجوع آوردم   دستم نرسید جز بدامان کریم

[A hundred thanks, because necessity which urged me to try,
Ultimately informed me of the favours of eternal God.
Although I turned towards the wall,
My hand did not reach except the skirt of merciful God.]

By this exercise of self-mortification Bedil showed resignation to the will of God, and, like the great Ṣūfīs, displayed abhorrence[3] for begging!

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1. The following reference may be seen.
2. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Ṣafdarī Edition, Chahār ʿUnṣur, p. 119.
3. Abul Khair, Abū Saʿid, in *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, p. 16. Here the great mystic says that when he was practising self-mortification as a novice, he bound himself to eighteen things. One of them was abhorrence for begging.

On the main road from Akbarābād to Shāh Jahānābād, the city of Muthura[1] lies on the right bank of the Jamna. During the days of Bedil, when journeys were made mainly by road, a person travelling between the two imperial cities, necessarily passed through Muthura. In the course of his aimless rambles, during the period under discussion, Bedil went to Muthura for the second time also. Again, no date has been assigned, but from the manner of his arrival in the city I conclude that the event belongs to this very period, i.e. 1078-79 A.H. (1667-68 A.D.).

Bedil says that one morning, when the sun had just risen, he started from Akbarpura, a village in the neighbourhood of Muthura. He saw a dazzling light in one direction, and he went thither. He beheld a few Sadhus sitting there. One of them cast such a lustrous and warm glance from his eyes that, for a protection against its heat which was burning his body, Bedil had to take shelter behind the tree trunks along the road. On account of this burning sensation, Bedil developed typhoid fever and consequently remained in Muthura for full three months. During the fever he used to sprinkle camphor on his body, but this brought him little relief.

In 1079 A.H.[3] (1668-69 A.D.) when Bedil had shown some tendency to settle down, he was married against his will. As he was intoxicated with Divine love, he could not think of sensual pleasures. But on the night of his nuptials he had a revelation which told him that, regardless of the issues, the marriage had to serve a purpose. He, therefore, agreed, and commemorated the occasion in this chronogram[4]:

بشگفت گل حدیقهٔ یمن

After his marriage, Bedil began to lead a settled[5] life in Dehlī with his wife. Incidentally, he has stated[6] that the house where he lived was very elegant and that he had a maid-servant also. After two months' stay in the house, it was found that it was haunted by evil spirits. It has been told previously that Bedil knew the charms for the extirpation of such spirits. He has again stated[7] that his powers in this connection had become a marvel for all. The genii in the house were completely annihilated by Bedil, and during the next fifteen years when he again came twice to the house, the neighbours told him that the place had been immune from the evil spirits since his first stay there.

1. *Imperial Gazetteer of India, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, I, p. 389.
2. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, p. 110.
3. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, *Chahār 'Unṣur*, p. 66.
4. Ibid., *Qiṭ'āt*, 51.
5. Ibid., *Chahār 'Unṣur*, p. 113.
6. Ibid., pp. 114-16.
7. Ibid., p. 115.


محمد اعظم شاه

Also quite involuntarily, Bedil displayed a miracle[1] (کرامت) in those days. A maid-servant was suffering from fever. One morning she was declared to be dead and her relations were weeping around her bed. Bedil went there. As a result of some sudden and mysterious impulse he drove a fist into her breast, and she stood up on her legs crying loudly. After this miracle people began to call him a saint, but he cared little for the airy titles :

بیدل به دو دوزه عمر مغرور مباش   بنیاد تو نیستی است معمور مباش
هر چند ابدال وقطب وغوث خوانند   ای خاک بابن غبار مسرور مباش

[Bedil, don't be proud of this life of short duration,
Your foundation lies on non-existence. Don't prosper.
The people may call you *Abdāl*,[2] *Qutb* and *Ghaus*,
O earth, don't be pleased with this flying dust.]

While describing this incident Bedil makes the following significant remarks :

ازان تاریخ تا امروز که سی و پنج سال محسوب فرصت شماریست ۔ آن خادمه از مقیدان سلسلۂ زندگیست ۔

[From that day to this date that thirty-five years have elapsed, that maid-servant is still alive.]

Bedil wrote this sentence before he had finished one-half of the fourth *'Unṣur*, and he completed[3] his *Chahār 'Unṣur* in 1116 A.H. (1704-05 A.D.). If the date of the composition of this line is taken to be 1115 A.H. (1703-04 A.D.), which seems probable, we can say that the miracle was displayed in 1080 A.H. (1115 − 35 = 1080), when Bedil was only twenty-six years old.

After his marriage Bedil joined the army like his forefathers. He was in the service of Prince A'ẓam Shāh, son of Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr. Khushgū says that by joining the army Bedil wanted to cultivate his latent powers and also to have some means of living. Bedil says that the object of his getting himself enlisted as a soldier was to find a way of escape from the ever-present feeling of self-gratification at his own asceticism and godliness. These moral values must have weighed with him but at the same time it is undeniable that, as Bedil had to run a home, he wanted a sure source of income, and he, therefore, joined the army.

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1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, *Chahār 'Unṣur*, pp. 113-14.

2. These are the saints who form the invisible hierarchy. Quṭb is the supreme head. Sayyid 'Alī Hujwīrī (d. 464-65 A.H.) has said that Ghaus and Quṭb mean one and the same thing. Abdāl is, however, of a lower rank. For a fuller discussion see : 'Alī Hujwīrī, *Kashf al-Maḥjūb* (trans Nicholson), p. 214; Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, pp. 123-24.

3. See infra. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, *Chahār 'Unṣur*, p. 66; Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 361.

Besides being a master of Persian, Bedil was well versed in the Turkish language also, and these qualifications made him popular with Prince A'ẓam Shāh, who conversed[1] in both these languages. Quite easily Bedil got the Manṣab of 500, and was appointed as the Superintendent of the Prince's kitchen. Shād 'Aẓīmābādī, as well as the compiler[2] of *The Bankipur Library Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, says[3] that Bedil got this Manṣab in recognition of his poetical talents. But a knowledge of the character of Bedil, and of the manner in which he finally quitted the service of A'ẓam Shāh, makes it abundantly clear that Bedil could not offer his poetical talents for sale in the market. I have mentioned it above that in those days Bedil was leading a respectable life in Shāh Jahānābād. I think it was because of this Manṣab.

In the beginning of his service in the army, Bedil was very much perturbed[4] by conflicting views about life. On the one side, there were mendicant darwishes, who cared not a fig for the worldly possessions, and, on the other, there were worldly people who hankered after riches. He very much liked to share the blissful life of the former noble souls. But it was revealed to him that if poverty (فقر) of this type was the object of life, then the whole of this grand and superb creation was useless. The fact is, it was disclosed to him, that *Faqr* was the Essence, and its attribute was *Ghina*. If a man, living in the midst of riches, could show indifference, he was indeed a *Faqīr*. This poverty, which was essentially of the spirit, required enormous mental striving, and anything got without striving did not become, according to Bedil, a high-minded person :

ساز همت بکسب دشواری کوشیدن است نه بر هوائی تن آسانی جوشیدن -

[Manliness means to grapple with difficulties, and not to long for a life of ease and inaction.]

Bedil was, therefore, of the opinion that means of livelihood should not be abandoned, when in particular no special pains were required to procure them. He concluded :

بی تردد جمع اسباب معاش خوشتراست از کسب فقری باتلاش

[If means of livelihood are obtained without much effort,
It is better than the vocation of *Faqr* with much ado.]

One day[5] in Dehlī while Bedil was in service, he was riding on a fine Arab horse through a bazar. Suddenly he saw that some people

1. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 36.
2. *Catalogue of the Persian Mss. in the Bankipur Library*, Ms. No. 381.
3. Shād 'Aẓīmābādī, *Nawā-e-Waṭan*, p. 69. *The Oriental College Magazine* for August 1932.
4. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, *Chahār 'Unṣur*, p. 67.
5. Ibid., pp. 67-68.

were looking at him. He went ahead and there too a few persons were looking at him in surprise. One of them cried out, "Look! How is the madman running after the horse, and how does he dance when he approaches it!" Bedil turned his head and saw Shāh-e-Kābulī running after him. Immediately he climbed down the horse, and, with reins in hand, respectfully made his way towards the saint. Shāh-e-Kābulī reached first and lovingly embraced Bedil. At the instance of Shāh Ṣāḥib, they repaired to a vacant shop where they sat sharing the secrets of each other. On that occasion Bedil said that he had been married, adding that according to a revelation he would get no issues. Shāh-e-Kābulī said, "It would be as you have understood. We are singles (ما افراد هستیم)." In support of this assertion he recited the following Qurānic verse[1]:

ولم يكن له كفواً احد

Many and varied were the secrets revealed to Bedil on that occasion. He was surprised at their nature and extent. The infinite possibilities of the individuals (افراد) almost bewildered him. He was in this state of bewilderment (حیرت) for a very long time, and when he came to himself he found that Shāh-e-Kābulī had again flitted. It was Bedil's third and last meeting with Shāh-e-Kābulī. The second had taken place in 1078 A.H. (1667-68 A.D.) and the third had now come two years later, that is in 1080 A.H. (1669-70 A.D.). The overpowering effects of this last meeting were felt by Bedil even twenty years afterwards.

In the preceding paragraph mention has been made of the افراد. As Bedil has been ranked amongst this class of mystics, it is in the fitness of things that the peculiarities[2] and privileges of the افراد should be given in brief. Theirs is the highest rank in the hierarchy of saints, so much so that the Prophet (peace be on him) himself, the mystics say, had this rank before the Revelation. A Quṭb receives the illumination of Attributes (تجلیٔ صفات) while the *Afrād* are recipients of the Illumination of Essence. (تجلیٔ ذات). This shows the fundamental difference between a قطب and a فرد. These saints, who are unique (فرد) in their spirituality, are manifestations of the spirit of 'Alī, the son-in-law of the Prophet (peace be on him). The *Afrād* conceal their secret, and are absolutely resigned to the Will of God, and hence they do not show miracles. When they attain perfection and advance in their spirituality they become the Poles of Reality and Unity (قطب حقیقت و وحدت).

1. The Holy Qurān, CXII. 4.

2. Thānavi., Muhammad 'Alī, *Iṣṭilāḥātul Funūn*, II, 1107 and 1167-69; 'Abdur Razzāq, *Iṣṭilāḥātuṣ-Ṣūfiyah*, p. 9.

We know that physically Bedil was a giant. One day when Prince A'ẓam Shāh was riding on horseback, and his usual retinue followed him along with Bedil, suddenly a tiger appeared, jumped upon the suite, and killed many of the Prince's retinue. Bedil alone had the courage to attack the tiger and did away with it as if it were a goat.[1]

Bedil wrote his allegorical Masnavī *Tilism-e-Ḥairat* in 1080 A.H., and as he joined the army after his marriage in 1079 A.H., we conclude that he wrote this Masnavī when he was in the service of A'ẓam Shāh. The book was dedicated to 'Āqil Khān Rāzī and this shows that relations between the poet and the courtier were growing more and more intimate. Moreover, the poet did not dedicate his *Tilism-e-Ḥairat* to A'ẓam Shāh. This also indicates that Bedil was not inclined to make a display of his poetical genius before the Prince.

When Bedil was in the service of A'ẓam Shāh, he was seeking guidance[2] in his poetical compositions from Maulānā 'Abdul 'Azīz 'Izzat[3] son of Mullā 'Abdur Rashīd of Akbarābād. He was a very learned man both in the revealed sciences and philosophy. He was considered matchless in the epistolatory style and in writing poetry. He was also skilful in the arts of soldiery. The Emperor wanted to raise him to the Manṣab of Sa'dullah Khān 'Allāmī, the illustrious Prime Minister of Shāh Jahān. 'Abdul 'Azīz 'Izzat was presented to Aurangzeb in 1080 A.H. (1669-70 A.D.), when the latter was in Akbarābād. The Emperor was impressed by the grand personality and the unique qualities of the Maulānā, and in a few days promoted him to the Manṣab of 500 Zat and 100 Sawar. In the *Ruqq'āt* of Bedil, we find four letters[4] addressed to Maulānā 'Abdul 'Azīz 'Izzat. They are all full of love and respect.

There were several poets in the service[5] of Prince A'ẓam Shāh who was himself a critic of poetry and patron of poets. The names of these poets are: Ḥusain Shuhrat, Mīr Muḥammad Aḥsan, Ījād Salīm, Sa'dullah Gulshan, and Khwāja 'Abdullah Sāqī. The Takhalluṣ of Ījād and Gulshan were suggested by Bedil. Ījād was also a pupil of Bedil. Khushgū says that all these poets associated themselves with and were friends of Bedil. This very biographer relates that on the day when Gulshan got his poetical name from

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1. 'Alī Luṭf Mirzā, *Gulshan-e-Hind*, p. 63.
2. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 361.
3. Sāqī, *Ma'asir-e-'Ālamgirī*. pp. 98-99; Sarkhush, *Kalimātush Shu'arā*, p. 78.
4. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, pp. 60, 70, 79, 91.
5. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 40. For the additional knowledge about the poets, Sarkhush, *Kalimātush Shu'arā*, pp. 8, 47, 96. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, pp. 198, 200.

Bedil, Khushgū himself and Mīr 'Abdus Ṣamad Sakhun also were granted their Takhallus by Bedil. It is, therefore, certain that when Bedil was employed as a soldier, he had already gathered around himself a number of poets who admired him and who looked to him for guidance.

One day in the presence[1] of the Prince a talk was going on about the contemporary poets. A favourite of the Prince remarked that not only in Shāh Jahānābād, but also in most of the other cities of India, no poet was a match for 'Abdul Qādir Bedil who was in the service of the Prince. A'ẓam Shāh then said that the poet should be asked to write a panegyric, and if it showed some inherent worth, not only Bedil's Manṣab would be raised, but also he would automatically rise in the Prince's estimation.

In the collection of Bedil's *Qaṣāid*, there is a forceful Qaṣida[2] in praise of Prince A'ẓam Shāh. It has two parts, in the same metre, but with different rhyme, and from there we learn that Bedil too, like other poets, expected favours from the Prince. The poet presents his case most eloquently :

صورت احوالم از طرز تخلص روشن است
بیدلیها چیده ام برخورد زوضع روزگار

———

گر شود ابر عنایت آبیار مزرعم
خوشه سان از پائی تا سر جمله دل آرم ببار

[My condition makes itself evident through my *nom de plume*,
I have developed heartlessness on account of the ways of the world.

———

If the cloud of your munificence showers water over my field,
Like the ear of corn I shall grow hearts from head to feet.]

Whether this Qaṣida was actually presented to the Prince or not, is unknown. But, it appears, it was written as a result of an inner urge, in appreciation of the valuable qualities of the Prince. When, however, it was conveyed to Bedil that he was expected to sing the praises of the Prince like professional panegryic-writers, he went immediately to the Paymaster and tendered his resignation. His friends insisted that he should write the required encomium, but he was not prepared to prostitute his talents, and he, therefore, abandoned his Manṣab.

Khushgū has remarked[3] that Bedil was in the service of A'ẓam Shāh for a long period of twenty years. We have seen that

1. Sher Khān Lodhi, *Mir'ātul Khayāl*, pp. 306-87 ; Iftikhār, 'Abdul Wahhāb, *Tazkirah-e-Benaẓīr*, p. 16 ; Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Khazāna-i-'Āmirah*, p. 152.
2. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, *Qiṭ'āt*, pp. 40-41.
3. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 361.

here and there in his works, such as *Chahār 'Unṣur*, *Qiṭ'āt*, and *Ruqq'āt*, Bedil makes hints about his life. I have, however, come across no hint which might suggest that Bedil was in the service of A'ẓam Shāh for such a long period. Moreover, Bedil's life was eventful. After persistent efforts I have been able to collect only a few events connected with Bedil's life as a soldier. This shows that the period of his military service was very brief. Besides, A'ẓam Shāh was in the Deccan[1] for the major part of his life, and none has ever expressed the view that Bedil too was in the Deccan at any time of his life. We know Bedil married in 1079 A.H. (1668-69 A.D.) and he joined the army after this. If he had been in the military service for twenty years, he could resign not earlier than 1100 A.H. (1688-89 A.D.). In that case he would not have been able to move about freely so frequently as we shall see in the following pages, before the close of the eleventh century of Hijra. Finally, Sher Khān Lodhī makes a positive statement to the effect that Bedil was in the service of A'ẓam Shāh only for a few days.[2] I must reiterate that the biographical note about Bedil written by Sher Khān Lodhī was seen[3] by the poet himself. The statement made by the biographer, therefore, is perfectly reliable. In view of all this, I am of the opinion that Bedil was in the army for a very brief period.

Bedil had tendered his resignation so dramatically that a thorn kept rankling in the heart of A'ẓam Shāh for a long time. At one time he asked[4] one Mir 'Atīqullah to go to Bedil and to bring his writings. As a consequence, Bedil supplied a piece of his prose and, on learning that it had been appreciated by the Prince, Bedil thanked him at the solicitation of the above-mentioned Mir. On another occasion, A'ẓam Shāh sent the following letter,[5] under his own signatures, asking Bedil to enter his service again :

الحمد لله والمنه که هنوز قوای بدنی آن رفعت و شجاعت دستگاه بحال خود است وباوجود بر قراری حواس از خدمت عالی شاهی تقاعدو رزیدن شرط ایفای حقوق اخلاص نیست ۔ تاحال هم هیچ نرخته ۔ آنچه ضروریات را در کار باشد به بیوتات دارالخلافه امر نفاذ یافته ۔ سرانجام کرده خواهد داد ۔ زود مستعد ملازمت گردد ۔

[Praise be to God and thanks are due to Him, because the physical strength of that honourable and brave person is still as good as ever. But to evade Imperial Service, in spite of having senses in a perfect working order, is against the faithful discharge of sincere obligations. Still the matter

1. Sāqī, *Ma'āṡir-e-'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 216, 535. The Prince went to the Deccan in 1092 A.H., and was there till 1118 A.H.

2. Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mir'ātul Khayāl*, p. 387.

3. Ibid., p. 391.

4. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 95.

5. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 361.

is not past remedy. Whatever is needed would be supplied on order from the provisions in the capital. He should immediately get ready to resume service.]

Khushgū says that he saw this imperial communication, in original, with his own eyes, in the inkstand of Bedil. As A'zam Shāh had seen[1] Bedil kill a tiger, he is in particular mindful of Bedil's bravery, and promises to show him favours. He also recognises Bedil's high-mindedness. It is clear that an elevated Manṣab was waiting for Bedil, but again he declined to accept it and wrote in reply[2] :

طاقتهائی جوانی که وسیلهٔ آبروئی بندگیست بضعف پیری انجامید و استقامت قوای که دلیل سعادت خدمت گزاریست سر نجیب ازپا در افتادگی کشید -

[The youthful energies, which enable a man to discharge his duties with credit, have changed into disability of old age, and the efficacy of powers, which gives strength for joining service, is no more.]

I think, to satisfy the vanity of the Prince, Bedil sent with his letter an artistic ghazal eulogising him. Following is the opening verse of the ghazal[3] :

اگر خورشید گردونم و گر خاک سر راهم گدائی حضرت شاهم گدائی حضرت شاهم

[If I am a sun in the heaven or I am like dust by the roadside,
I am a beggar at the Prince's door, a beggar at the Prince's door.]

As far as I know, this closed the chapter of Bedil's relations with A'zam Shāh.

After this we see our poet again in Akbarābād[4]—the city on the Jumna founded by Akbar the Great. It owes its fame to the Tāj which was completed[5] in 1053 A.H., a year before the birth of Bedil. Although no reference is found in his works, yet one can say with certainty that he must have seen this "dream in the marble" when he was in Akbārbād, and the purity and chastity of the Tāj must have exercised influence in the development of his aesthetic taste. He calls this city by the name of گل زمین[6] (The Valley of Roses) and this is an

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1. Page 46, supra.
2. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, p. 18.
3. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 361; *Kullīyāt-e-Bedil, Qiṭ'āt*, p. 54.
4. *Imperial Gazetteer of India, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, pp. 393, [illegible]
5. Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhabul Lubāb*, I, p. 599.
6. *Kullīyāt-e-Bedil, Chahār 'Unṣur*, p. 133.

indication of the fact that he was deeply impressed by its supreme beauty.

One silvery bright night in 1081 A.H. (1670-71 A.D.) in Akbarābād, Bedil had a grand dream.[1] At first he found himself in the Realm of Unity (جہان احدیت), and then he descended to the Empyreal Heaven where he saw the angels. After this he observed the Intelligence,[2] and the Heavens of the Saturn, the Jupiter, the Mars, the Sun, the Venus, the Mercury, and the Moon. When he had beheld these seven heavens, he saw the truths of the spheres of earth, water, air, and fire, and at the end the realities of the four stages of existence, i.e. the mineral, the vegetable, the animal, and the human, visibly came before his eyes. He saw the similitudes of these things.

In the course of this vision, Bedil saw a person, sitting towards the pillow, and having Bedil's head on his knees. When Bedil looked closely he recognised the Holy Prophet (peace be on him). Bedil fought shy, but his head was still in the loving lap of the Prophet. He was overjoyed. After a while he observed another glorious world on that curtain of the similitudes. In a splendid palace he saw 'Alī, the sovereign of saints, reclining against a pillow on the carpet of Majesty. Bedil respectfully bowed and began to tremble with fear. But His Exalted Holiness graciously asked Bedil to come nearer, and then he attained the stage of Oneness, and was honoured with favours compared to which everything in the universe pales into insignificance. Bedil was encouraged and he therefore related how he had seen the Prophet in the dream. The Prince of the saints, i.e. 'Alī, interpreted the dream and told Bedil that the Reality of Muḥammad (حقیقت محمدیہ) was always guarding him, whether he observed the necessary ritual or not. On hearing this interpretation, Bedil felt infinite pleasure and he woke up.

We see it was, in fact, a splendid dream. Dreams of this kind are commonly seen by the mystics, and a perusal of the books[3] on mysticism will show that there was nothing extraordinary in this dream. This only shows that Bedil belonged to the community of saints, and, as a unique saint (فرد), his spiritual relations with 'Alī,[4] the son-in-law of the Prophet, were very intimate. Moreover, reference to

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, *Chahār 'Unṣur*, pp. 134-35.

2. It refers to a theory of creation, according to which God created the First Intelligence (عقل اول) and from it the Other Intelligences, all the Heavens, and everything else came into being.

3. 'Aṭṭār, Farīdu-ud-Dīn, *Tażkiratul Auliyā*, pp. 80, 100, 112, etc.; Nicholson, *The Idea of Personality in Sufism*, pp. 63-65; *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, pp. 122-23.

In the last book, 'Abdul Karīm Jīlī's remarks indicate that the saints are capable of seeing the Heavens.

4. Page 45, supra.

the Intelligences and Heavens in the dream, indicates Bedil's knowledge of Muslim philosophy.

In Akbarābād, Kāmgār Khān,[1] son of Ja'far Khān,[2] Jumdatul Mulk, was always eager to render service to the Faqīrs and Darwīshes and he treated Bedil also with the same considerateness, because he thought Bedil too belonged to the same order. Although he does not say it explicitly, yet there are implicit references to the effect that Bedil lived in Akbarābād for a considerable period, and it looked as if he had settled there. He says he was leading there a contented and comfortable life. It was this mode of life which induced Khushgū to write[3] in his *Safīna* that Bedil belonged to Akbarābād.

In one meeting,[4] in Akbarābād, a few poets had gathered, and they began to talk about the poets of the past. They themselves were not well versed in poesy, still they spoke slightingly about the master-poets like Khāqānī and Amīr Khusrau. Bedil could not bear disparaging remarks about the Great Poets, although he himself had no claim for being a poet.

It so happened that one day all of them went for a walk in the Zohra Garden[5] in the company of Amīr Kāmgār Khān. The walls, the pleasure-houses, and the other scenery in the garden so fascinated the Amīr that he asked all the poets if someone would describe the beautiful scenes in verse or prose. Those bragging poets remained deaf and dumb, but Bedil immediately described the garden in prose, in figurative language, and aptly named it سرمۀ اعتبار (the collyrium of honour). This essay was later on included in the prose section of *Chahār 'Unṣur*.

Fortunately, Bedil gives dates of the composition of many of his productions, and from this we can understand how his literary genius

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, *Chahār 'Unṣur*, p. 94; Khūshgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942.

2. Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mir'atul Khayāl*, p. 396; Sāqī, *Ma'āsir-e-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 103. During these days Aurangzeb was in Akbarābād where Ja'far Khān Jumdatul-Mulk died after a protracted illness. Kāmgār Khān, his brother Nāmdār Khān, and the other members of the bereaved family felt very much elated when the Emperor personally went to their house for condolence. Aurangzeb was there from 1080 A.H. to 1082 A.H. See *Ma'āsir-e-'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 91, 112. This is sufficient to show the standing of the family of Mīrzā Kāmgār.

In the *Ruqq'āt of Bedil* (Lucknow Edition) at page 70, there is a letter in which Bedil regretfully says that he could not receive Mīrzā Kāmgār as there was no saddle for his horse. At page 51 of the *Qit'āt* (*Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*) Bedil has mentioned a victory of the Amīr. The chronogram is نوید غیب = 1082 A.H.

3. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 358.
4. *Kulliyāt e-Bedil*, *Chahār 'Unṣur*, pp. 94-95.
5. Latīf, Sayyed Muḥammad, *Agra*, p. 190. It is thought that this was a garden of Bābur's daughter.

gradually unfolded itself. He wrote his Qaṣīda Sawād-e-A'ẓam[1] in 1082 A.H. (1671 A.D.). This name itself, like that of *Muḥīt-e-A'ẓam*, is the chronogram. The Qaṣīda is addressed to Man and is didactic in content. Most of the verses of the Qaṣīda have the figure تمثیله (aptness of illustration) in which a truth is stated in the first hemistitch and in the second a concrete example is given. This predominant use of the figure proves that at this period of his life Bedil was paying more attention to it.

Khushgū has recorded an event which shows that the poets in Akbarābād had grown jealous of Bedil. He shaved his beard as well as his eyebrows. One day a poet named 'Abdur Raḥīm threw the following[2] couplet into the palanquin in which Bedil was being carried :

چه خطا در خط اُستاد ازل دید آیا که به اصلاح خط و ریش به ناز اُفتاد است

[What defect did you observe in the downs made by the Eternal Master
That you have proudly begun to correct the downs and the beard ?]

Bedil replied immediately :

مختصر کن به تغافل هوس جنگ و جدل مد سر رشته تحقیق دراز افتاد است

[Cut short by negligence your desire to continue this strife
The extent of the thread of research is wide.]

Bedil was otherwise perfectly satisfied with his life in Akbarābād but there was one thing which distressed him much. He very much longed[3] to be in the society of Shāh-e-Qāsim Huwallāhī whom he had left in Orissa. Letters and messages were being regularly exchanged but he was not satisfied with them. He ardently desired to see the saint himself.

One night in 1083 A.H. (1672-73 A.D.), Bedil was very much perturbed, and was awake till late in the night. At last, when he fell asleep he dreamt that he was in the company of Shāh-e-Qāsim. Bedil had a cup of water in his hands. Instead of taking it to his own lips, he offered it to Shāh Ṣāḥib. The saint had not yet taken even a drop when the dream melted away.

Next night Bedil saw the saint again in dream. The saint had a cup in his hand and a flask of wine under his arms, which he handed over to Bedil. Now Bedil thought Shāh Ṣāḥib was not at all intemperate; it must be some secret. He therefore filled the cup and offered it to the saint who said :

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1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, *Qiṭ'āt*, pp. 34-36.
2. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 365.
3. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, *Chahār 'Unṣur*, pp. 71-72.

ما دور پیمانۂ خود دیشب بانجام رسانیدیم - این قدر قسمت تو بود که به تو عائد گردانیدیم بعد ازیں سر خوش قدح پیمائی شوق می باش و دماغ اندیشه بخمار هائی کدورت مخراش -

[We finished last night the round of our cup. It was your share which has been made over to you. After this be merry from the effects of drinking to your desire, and never put yourself to trouble by vexing thoughts.]

As the saint had asked him, Bedil drank a few cups, and as a consequence he began to reel like an intoxicated person. For a long time after this dream he felt as if he was drunk.

Bedil concluded from these dreams that the saint had left this world for ever. On the third night he saw a crowd of angels in a dream. They asked him to tell some chronogram about the death of Shāh-e-Qāsim and he said *impromptu* :

زہی تعینی ذات رفت نام صفت

The celestial beings grew ecstatic on hearing this chronogram. After six months a few friends of Bedil came from Orissa and they confirmed the news.

This is the last event which we know about the life of Bedil in Akbarābād. We get two dates, i.e. 1081 A.H. and 1083 A.H., from the events that took place in this imperial city. Nowhere has it been mentioned by any person that Bedil was at any other place during these dates. Consequently I am of the opinion that he was in Akbarābād from 1082 A.H. to 1083 A.H. (1671-73 A.D.).

From Akbarābād Bedil went to Dehlī. But there he was living very dispiritedly, when suddenly he made up his mind to enjoy a visit to the Punjab. His spirits were revived and he composed the following[1] chronogram in a cheerful mood :

شوق را از عزیمت لاهور تازگیهائی مژدهٔ شادیست
یعنی از دامگاه افسردن چند گاهم نوید آزادیست
سال تاریخ این عزیمت شوق بی تکلف شنو-خدا هادیست

[I am starting for Lahore and I feel
As fresh as on hearing a good news.
It means from the net of melancholy
I get glad tidings of being liberated for some time.
The chronogram for this pleasure trip
Comes quite unaffectedly. Listen : 'God is the guide.']

In *Chahar 'Unṣur*, too, he speaks of the pleasure[2] which he felt on the eve of his departure for the Punjab.

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Qiṭ'āt*, p. 51.
2. Ibid., *Chahār 'Unṣur*, pp. 108-09.

He was alone. Moreover, he was travelling light. He had only a very blunt knife with him. On many occasions he had thought of taking the knife to some blacksmith, but now when he reached Sara-e-Nakodar, an inn in Nakodar,[1] Jullundhur District, he saw a few smithies and went thither. He asked the blacksmiths to sharpen his knife. All of them displayed willingness, but their elder readily came forward and respectfully took the knife from Bedil. In an instant, the knife was sharpened brilliantly. Bedil thought of paying for the labour, but the elderly blacksmith accepted no payment as, he said, he was there to serve the Faqīrs—the holy people moving about like mendicants. The blacksmith smiled graciously and talked so compassionately that Bedil was very much impressed by his good manners. The bright lustre of his eyes was particularly wonderful.

Nothing is known about Bedil's stay in Lahore at that time, but we know he went to Ḥasanabdāl. It is a town[2] in Attock District twentyfive miles east of Campbellpur, and has been held equally sacred by the Buddhists, the Muslims and the Sikhs. It is an attractive[3] place, famous for its springs, and mulberry and pipal trees of large size. The Mughul Emperors used to halt[4] here, when they were on their way to Kābul or Kashmīr. Moreover, as the place is almost on the border of the Frontier Province, the Mughul Emperors, having encamped in the town, could easily supervise the action in the Frontier. When in 1085 A.H. (1674-75 A.D.) Bedil had gone towards that side, Aurangzeb also had reached[5] Ḥasanabdāl to subdue the turbulent Khushhāl Khān Khatak—an inspiring poet and a valiant swordsman.

In the course of his journey to Ḥasanabdāl, Bedil had with him a learned Brahman as a fellow-traveller, who was deeply influenced by Bedil's magnanimity.[6] One day the Brahman showed his surprise by saying that the Prophet of Islam had foretold that the Day of Judgment would come in the twinkling[7] of an eye, but it had not come since his time, although the people go on twinkling the eyes a thousand times every day. According to Hindu philosophy, the Brahman continued, the annihilation of the Universe would take place after the Greatest Cycle of Time which closed after millions of

1. *Punjab District Gazetteers* XIV-A *Jullunder District*, pp. 291-96.
2. Ibid., XXIX-A, *Attock District*, pp. 319-21.
3. Murrary, *A Hand-Book for Travellers in India*, p. 212.
4. Jahangīr, *Memoirs* (Trans. Rogers), Vol. I. pp. 99-100 ; II, pp. 123-231.
5. Sāqī, *Maāsir-e-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 132.
6. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, *Chahār 'Unṣur*, pp. 17-19.
7. *The Holy Qurān*, XIV. 77:

وما امر الساعة الا كلمح البصر او هو اقرب

[And the matter of the Hour (of Doom) is but as a twinkling of the eye or it is nearer still.]

years. The Brahman meant to say that Hindu conception of Time was nearer the reality. Bedil replied that the Hindus believed[1] ages piled on ages in the life of Brahma (The Creator of the Universe, and at whose end the Universe ended) were only a negligibly brief moment in the life of Vishnū. This Vishnū, Bedil went on, corresponded to Necessary Existence (ذات واجب الوجود) in Muslim philosophy, and it was, therefore, clear that, as compared to the Necessary Existence, which transcended time, the contingent (ممکن الوجود), with all its huge piles of ages, was absolutely an insignificant entity. Bedil told the Brahman that such like deep truths were simply appalling to the imagination of puny man, and, therefore, metaphors like the twinkling of an eye were used:

چه دانی رمز دریا چون نداری گوش گردابی
که کار خار و خس بنود زبان موج فهمیدن

[How can you understand the secrets of a sea when you do not have the ears of a whirlpool,
Because it is not the business of thorns and straw to understand a wave's tongue.]

When the Brahman was remined of Vishnū, and informed of the nature of واجب and ممکن, he was worsted in argument, and he, therefore, embraced Islam.

Bedil removed the doubts of the Brahman very easily. This shows that Bedil had made comparative study of the Hindu and Muslim systems of philosophy. Khushgū[2] says that Bedil was interested in Theology, Mathematics, and Natural Sciences and he had also committed to memory the whole story of Mahābhārtha – a book of unequalled fame amongst the Hindus. Bedil had developed this taste for Hindu philosophy and traditions since the days when his teacher Shāh-e-Mulūk composed couplets having Vedanta terminology. We know that 'Āqil Khān Rāzī, who was a patron of Bedil, had written in verse the *Qiṣṣa-e-Padmawat* and *Madhamalat*. This shows that the learned Muslims of those days were not ashamed of taking interest in Hindu learning.

When did Bedil return from the Punjab? Or, where did he stay after his return?—are questions which I have not been able to answer definitely. Bedil, however, has stated in Chahār 'Unṣur

1. Premchand Bhāratī, *Sri Krishna*, pp. 46-48, 62, 194; Barnett, L. D., *Brahma Knowledge*, pp 49-50.

According to the Hindu Theory of Creation, Brahma is born out of the navel of Vishnū. Brahma then creates the universe which ends after many cycles each of which consists of 4,320,000 ordinary years. After Maha-Pralaya, i e. Universal Dissolution, there is again creation. This periodical course of alternate creation, maintenance, and dissolution of worlds continues without end.

2. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 370.

that once he stayed in Muthura continuously for three years. If his previous and future history is kept in view, one arrives at the conclusion that at no period other than this could Bedil stay in Muthura continuously for such a long time. I am, therefore, inclined to the view that Bedil was there from 1087 A.H. to 1089 A.H. (1676-78 A.D.).

Bedil says that he lived there on account of the fondness he had for the city. He was greatly impressed by the veneration in which the Hindus hold Krishna—the Lord of Love. Krishna had passed his life in the western part of Muthura District which is called Braj Mandal,[1] or the country of Krishna, and where almost every grove, mound and tank is associated with some episode in Krishna's life. Bedil saw there bands of pilgrims of all sorts, visiting the shrines most reverently, and he was surprised to see the depth of their feelings. Even after the lapse of centuries, he could hear, in those surroundings, the flute played by Krishna and could see the enraptured maidens (*Gopīs*). He says[2]:

در زمینی که محبت اثری کاشته است
گرد او خرمن چندین طپش انباشته است

[In a field, where love has sown its effect
There even the dust has collected a crop of palpitation.]

From the vivid account given by Bedil we learn that, in spite of the efforts made by different Muslim rulers to eliminate idolatry, Muthura had even then the exclusive stamp of Hindu religion and its traditions.

One day,[3] in Muthura, the Governor of the fort complained to Bedil that life in the fort had become miserable, as the evil spirits flung stones, and the people being afraid were daily leaving the place. Bedil wrote the following couplet in Persian to serve as an amulet:

با عفاریت جهانی دیگر   جای کم نیست مکانی دیگر

[There is another world for the genii;
Accommodation is not limited. There is another house.]

In this way the spirits left the place.

In 1089 A.H. (1678 A.D.), when Bedil was perhaps in Muthura, his teacher, 'Abdul 'Azīz, 'Izzat breathed his last at the age of forty-eight. Bedil mourned[4] his loss in two stanzas, and composed two chrono-

1. *Imperial Gazetteer of India, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, p. 374
2. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, *Chahār 'Unṣur*, pp. 59-60.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., *Qiṭ'āt*, pp. 47, 50-51.

grams, viz. چہل و ہشت سالہ مرد بردند نور از چراغ عالم and, to record the date of the demise of his beloved teacher. It is a characteristic feature of the elegies written by Bedil that therein the traits of the dying person are invariably recounted. Here, in these two stanzas, we learn about the religosity, liberality and nobility of mind, erudition and the literary attainments of Shaikh 'Abdul 'Azīz 'Izzat. In 1092 A.H. (1681 A.D.), when near the mausoleum of the Shaikh, a Maktab called زاویہ عزیزیہ was opened, Bedil preserved its memory by the chronogram[1] مقام فضلا.

We see Bedil in Dehlī again. This time when he was in Dehlī, he posed before a famous painter, named Anūp Chitrā for a portrait.[2] The painter was a favourite[3] of Dārā Shikoh, and one of his chief works depicts Shāh Jahān seated among his Amīrs. Anūp Chitrā's portraits have a sureness of touch, a keenness of expression, and a psychological intensity. Bedil praises him for his realism and regards him equal to the great Bihzād[4] and to Mānī.[5] The critical remarks of Bedil, about the paintings of Anūp Chitrā, are a proof of the fact that the poet was a very well-informed connoisseur. At first Bedil was disinclined to have his portrai drawn, but, being overcome by the entreaties of Anūp Chitrā, who was an old friend, he agreed at last, and when, with a few touches of the brush, the portrait was drawn, it was so lifelike that Bedil could not distinguish it from his own self. The portrait remained with him for ten years till he destroyed it in 1100 A.H. (1688-89 A.D.). It means that it was painted in 1090 A.H. (1679-80 A.D.) when Bedil was thirty-six years old.

Bedil had all the time been looking for a proper recognition of his talents, but his hopes were still unrealised. He was not after the fulfilment of worldly ends, as it was customary with other poets of his times, but, on the other hand, he was in search of persons who had intellectual as well as spiritual affinity with him. We have seen that his respect for 'Āqil Khān Rāzī had its origin in this similarity of mind and heart. But it appears, too exalted as 'Āqil Rāzī was, Bedil could not develop the desired intimacy with him.

By this time Bedil had come to know that Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, the son-in-law of 'Āqil Khān Rāzī, was the proper man to

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1. *Kullīyāt-Bedil, Ruaqq'āt-e-Bedil*, p. 3.
2. Ibid., *Chahār 'Unṣur*, pp. 110-11.
3. Grosset, R., *The Civilisation of the East India* (Trans. Phillips), p. 338.)
4. Ibid., p. 36. Bihzād was the most illustrious master of the school of Herāt during the times of the Tīmūrid Sultān Ḥussain Baiqara.
5. Mānī was not a painter but the founder of a religion. See Browne, E G., *A Literary History of Persia*, I, 158, 165-66.

Iqbāl, Dr. Muḥammad, *Īrān ba 'Ahd-e-Sāsānīyān* (Urdu translation of *L' Iran sous les Sassanides*, pp. 233-60.)

be approached in this connection. The Nawāb was a poet[1] and he had also written a commentary of the *Masnavī of Rūmī*. He was not only versed in the canonical law but also he was a mystic. His devotion to truth was well known. Moreover, his regard for poets and learned men had earned a name for him. Shaikh Nāṣir 'Alī Sirhindī, the well-known Persian poet, and Sher Khān Lodhī, the famous writer of the Tazkirah *Mir'ātul Khayāl*, were recipients of his favours. It is probable that when he was the Governor of Sirhind, Nāṣir 'Alī Sirhindī attracted his notice, and from that time close familiarity began between them. Sher Khān Lodhī gives the letters which passed between the peer and the poet.

Bedil, therefore, naturally decided to write[2] to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān. He had not yet seen the Nawāb, but he was confident the Nawāb would not disappoint him. He sent his Masnavī *Tilism-e-Hairat*, with a letter, in which he severely criticised the people who either attended merely to the felicity of expression or displayed solicitude only for the ideas. Bedil, however, stood for a happy fusion of both, the thought and the expression, and he believed that a clear-minded person like Nawāb Shukrullah Khān would study the Masnavī from this point of view and would appreciate it. *Tilism-e-Hairat*, too, had not had a good reception, and, therefore, when he was sending it to a real patron of art and learning, he was very much delighted. He concluded by saying:

شاد باش اے دل که آخر عقده ات وا می شود
قطرهٔ ما می رسد جائیکه دریا می شود

[O heart, be pleased, your knot is being opened after long last.
Our drop would reach a place where it would turn into an ocean.]

Bedil's expectations were fulfilled, and we find him staying with Nawāb Shukrullah Khān in Dehlī as a guest. The Nawāb was transferred[3] from Sirhind in 1092 A.H. (1681 A.D.) and was appointed the Faujdār of Shāh Jahānābād where he remained[4] till 1904 A.H. (1682-83 A.D.) A separate room was reserved for Bedil and meals were regularly served. In addition to this there were uninterrupted meetings with Shukrullah Khān, which Bedil regarded as the fruit of his life. Nawāb Shukrullah Khān had given headings to the different sections

1. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 149; Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mir'ātul Khayāl*, pp. 292-94; Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 41; Ḥussainī, Ḥussain Dost, *Tazkirah*, p. 75.
2. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 3.
3. Sāqī, *Ma'āsir-e 'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 209, 214.
4. Ibid., p. 223.

of *Tilism-e-Hairat*, and also he had prepared a gist of its contents. In a letter[1] to 'Āqil Khān Rāzī, Bedil praised Nawāb Shukrullah Khān for his hospitality and good manners.

It appears that when Nawāb Shukrullah Khān was transferred[2] in 1094 A.H. (1682-83 A.D.) to Sikandarābād, Bedil moved to Muthura. The period since the date of the composition of *Tilism-e-Hairat* is marked comparatively by sterility, but this time when Bedil was in Muthura, he embarked upon the composition of his famous work *Chahār 'Unṣur* in prose.

Now, after the war of succession (1068-69 A.H., 1657-58 A.D.), the life of Bedil was again directly influenced by the political events of his times. Aurangzeb quitted[3] his capital in 1090 A.H. (1679 A.D.) and went to Ajmer to quell the Rājpūt risings, and from there he had proceeded[4] to the Deccan, via Burhānpūr in 1093 A.H. (1681 A.D.). This was his fateful departure from the capital. Exaggerated news of the persistent defiance of Mughul authority by the Marhattas and of their vigorous raids were daily reaching Northern India, and, taking advantage of the disturbed conditions, the truculent Jāts had begun to commit depredations[5] near Islāmābād (Muthura) and Akbarābād. As Bedil was living at that time in the former city, he naturally suffered. He gives a sensational account of the prevalent conditions :

"The Emperor 'Ālamgīr[6] had left for the Deccan and Hindustān was in a state of helplessness. The Governors were lazy and negligent of their duties. Consequently, the population surrounding Delhī and Akbarābād grew rebellious and, with designs for independence and self-aggrandisement, created havoc. The population of most of the parganas, neighbouring Muthura, had embarked on a career of lawlessness, loot and murder. The noblemen were imprisoned and humiliated and none heeded their implorations. Every day a new Governor was appointed from the Deccan, but he made inordinate delay in reaching Hindustān and taking over. Rebels swarmed about and could by no means be checked. The lawless mob made no distinction between the virtuous and the wicked. It was impossible to stay at home ; and the bazars, the streets and the lanes too were unsafe. Undertaking journeys meant courting danger, and the caravans of traders had stopped where they were. The military itself was exposed to danger. In Muthura the rich people guarded

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1. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 63.
2. Sāqī, *Maāsir-e- 'Ālamgīrī*, p. 233.
3. Ibid., p. 180.
4. Ibid., p. 217.
5. Ibid., p. 311. Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhabul Lubāb*, II pp. 394-95.
6. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, *Chahār 'Unṣur*, p. 128.

the pathways to their palaces by guns and arrows, but the poor were absolutely helpless."

This graphic expression we get from Bedil's pen. At last[1] when, owing to the constant sufferings of full two years, endurance and patience had worn away, and it had become extremely painful to pass each day and each night, Bedil decided in 1095 A.H. (1685 A. D.) to reach Dehlī somehow or other. People tried to dissuade him, pointing out the dangers in the way, but he was firm in his resolve.

A few bullock carts were hired and the journey was started. The first stop was 'Aẓīmābād in the vicinity of Muthura. About fifty carts were already waiting there for an escort. Next day when Bedil's carts resumed their journey, those fifty carts also moved. They were, however, soon persuaded by the inhabitants of the village to stop, but Bedil went on with two servants. When Bedil's party had gone ahead only for a few yards, a darwish came with a parrot, and he predicted that victory accompanied them, hence there was no need to be afraid. On hearing this the people of the other carts too were encouraged, and they joined Bedil's party.

In spite of the intense heat, none ventured to stop on the way, nor did anyone go to the wells to quench thirst. When they had travelled some two or three kos in this way, they came to a marshy ground, which it was difficult to cross. There a cart of Bedil was broken and the luggage was loaded on the wounded bullock, but it gave way under the load. Such accidents were commonly an invitation for the ruffians to indulge in plunder and, therefore, getting afraid, the accompanying carts made good their escape hastily, leaving Bedil and his party in the lurch.

Bedil asked his men to abandon the load and the bullock and to proceed on. After some time the wounded bullock also arrived with its load. The people of the surrounding *'ilāqa* used to gather by the roadside, perhaps with evil intentions. They were surprised to see the tiny caravan travelling without an escort. One night was passed by the bank of the Jumna, and all the party kept vigil. Some drivers were in league with the robbers, and they took the party to a dangerous village. But suddenly a man on horseback appeared, and angrily asked the drivers why they behaved faithlessly even with godly persons. The rider guided the party to the caravan and then disappeared.

In this way Bedil arrived safely in Shāh Jahānābād. From the luggage and the servants that accompanied him, it appears that Bedil had settled permanently in Muthura, and that he shifted to the Imperial Capital only on account of the disturbances.

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1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, *Chahār 'Unṣur*, pp. 128-32.

CHAPTER III

Final Stay in Dehli

[27th Jamāda II, 1096 A.H., to 4th Ṣafar, 1133 A.H.
31st May, 1685 A.D., to 5th December, 1720 A.D.]

BEDIL arrived in Shāh Jahānābād on the 27th of Jumāda II, 1096 A.H. (May 31st, 1685). On his arrival in the metropolis, the first thing he did was to see 'Āqil Khān Rāzī, who was the Governor[1] there since 1091 A.H. (1680-81 A.D.). Appointment for weekly visits was made with the Khān. Procuring a well-located house was Bedil's next concern. He, therefore, wrote to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān for the same. Bedil wrote that he had left Islāmābād (Muthura) on account of the disturbances and had arrived in the capital with his women (با پا شکستہ چند). He added that the daily food had been fixed for all by God, he wanted a comfortable house by the riverside or in the outskirts of the city—a house which should remain permanently in his possession, so that, for the rest of his life, he may be freed from the trouble of changing it.[2]

Nawāb Shukrullah Khān and his son Shākir Khān bought the Ḥavelī (bungalow) of one Luṭf 'Alī for Rs. 5,000 and presented it to Bedil. It was situated outside the Dehlī Gate, in the quarter of Khikrīān, by the Guzar Ghat. It is apparent that both the conditions laid down by Bedil had been fulfilled. The Nawābs fixed two rupees as the daily allowance of Bedil, which was paid till the last day[3] of his death. Khushgu remarks[4] that in this house Bedil lived for the remaining thirty-six years of his life. As he died on 4th Safar, 1133 A.H. (December 5, 1720), we conclude that this house was arranged for him in 1096 A.H. (1684 A.D.), i.e. the very year of Bedil's final arrival in Dehlī.

Bedil has mentioned in the letter quoted above that he reached Shāh Jahānābād with his women. This is the first occasion since 1080 A.H. (1669-70 A.D.) when he settled in Delhī after his marriage in

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1. Sher Khān, *Mirātul Khayāl* p. 290 ; Sāqī, *Ma'āsir-e-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 195.
2. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, pp. 81-82.
3. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 362.
4. Ibid.

1079 A.H. (1668-69 A.D.) that something has been mentioned about his family. We do not know how he arranged for the household expenditure all this time or where his family lived. From the letter in question, and also from the number of carts which brought Bedil's effects from Muthura, we form the conclusion that in Muthura, at least during his last stay there, Bedil's family was with him. Moreover, Khushgū says that the poet had four[1] wives. We have seen that Bedil is in the habit of making hints here and there about the different events of his life, but it is strange that he has made no reference about such an important matter as the polygamous phase of his life. Although the words با پا شکسته چند lend weight to this remark of Khushgū, yet they are very ambiguous. Another statement also accompanies this remark. Khushgū says that, because of this nature of his life, Bedil used slaked red-orpiment (کشته زرنیخ). The author of *'Iqd-e-Surayyā* states[2] that when Bedil had permanently settled in Shāh Jahānābād, God provided subsistence for all the old and young (همه خورد و کلان). This shows that in Dehlī Bedil had indeed a big family.

These were disturbed times. Aurangzeb was in the Deccan fighting the Marhattas and Muslim kings of the peninsula. Only the news of reverses to the Emperor's armies reached Northern India, and, as it has been mentioned previously, these news spread like wild fire causing panic in the country. The Jāts had risen in revolt and there was trouble in the whole of Mewāt, which is an ill-defined[3] tract lying to the south of Dehlī. One Bājī Rām, the proud Naruka Chief,[4] with his seven brave sons, was the cause of mischief in the hilly territory of Mewāt. Nawāb Shukrullah Khān was appointed to crush the Naruka who, being afraid to face the Nawāb, sought refuge in flight. On this occasion Bedil's chronogram was: دل نروکه بشکست which yields 1097 A.H. (1685 A.D.) numerically. In 1098 A.H. (1686-87 A.D.) the accursed Bājī Rām was routed completely, and when the confused remnants of Bājī's army—the Meos, the Jāts, and the Rājpūts—fled away in all directions, Bedil sent a congratulatory letter[5] to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān with a ghazal, the last verse of which is given below:

یک جهان خفاش را برقی زآهنگش بس است
آفتابست آفتابست آفتابست آفتاب

[A single flash from his intention is enough to drive away a world of bats.
He is indeed the sun, the sun, the sun, the sun.]

1. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 362.
2. Mushafī, Ghulām Hamdānī, *'Iqd-e-Surayyā*, p. 16.
3. *Imperial Gazetteers, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, p. 223.
4. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Qit'āt*, p. 49.
5. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 37.

The chronograms[1] which Bedil found out were غزوهٔ عجیب (a strange war) and فتحی شگرف (a marvellous victory). In 1099 A.H. (1687-88 A.D.), Nawāb Shukrullah Khān paid[2] a visit to Shāh Jahānābād, and, I think, when he returned to Mewāt, he took Bedil also with him.

When Bedil went to Mewāt, he lived in Bairāt[3] – a town 105 miles south-west of Delhī, 41 miles north of Jaipūr and 27 miles north-west of Meerut City. It is situated in the midst of a circular valley surrounded by low, barren red hills. Trees are in abundance in the *il'āqa*. Bedil passed the rainy season there. Being enchanted by the charming scenery of the countryside and the raining clouds, he experienced a spontaneous creative urge. In a short picturesque poem he describes[4] the locality :

صبح کشور میوات یاسمن بهار است این
بوی ناز می آید جلوه گاه یار است این
نشه اوجها دارد عیش فوجها دارد
عشق موجها دارد بحر بی کنار است این
ابر شوق می بارد سبزه حسن می کارد
سنگ هم دلی دارد طرفه کهسار است این
گر گل از چمن روید بانفس سخن گوید
دل بدیده می گوید رنگ آن نگار است این
خرمی چمن پیر است جوش گل قدح پیماست
رنگ و بو همان برجاست بے خزان بهار است این
نقش جوهر کامل کیست تا کند باطل
این چراغ و این محفل فضل کردگار است این
کام دل گل و دامن آرزو طلب خرمن
چشم بیدلان روشن مژد انتظار است این

[It is morning in Mewāt and jassamines have blossomed everywhere.
It smells of coquettry. It must be the abode of the beloved.
Hilarity is on the increase, enjoyment is limitless, and
Love comes like rising waves. It is indeed a boundless sea.
The clouds pour down desire and verdure is sowing beauty,
Even the stone has a heart. It is a strange hilly country.
If a flower blossoms in the garden, it chats with the soul,
The heart says to the eye, "It is the hue of that beauty."
Pleasantness adorns the garden, and the excited flowers drink wine from the cup.

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Qitt'āt*, p. 50.
2. Ibid., p. 51.
3. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India, United Provinces*, p. 320 ; Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 341-42.
4. *Kulliyāt-e- Bedil, Qitt'āt*, p. 55.

Colour and smell pervade everywhere. This spring knows no autumn.
Who is there to efface the impression of the perfect Essence?
This lamp and this assembly. It is a favour of the Almighty.
The realised wishes of heart are like flowers in skirt and there is a harvest of fulfilled desires.
The eyes of those who have lost their hearts have brightened up. It is the reward for waiting long.

Nawāb Shukrullah Khān was also a poet[1] with the poetical surname خاکسار. He left a Dīwān[2] which however, has not been mentioned in any one of the catalogues. The Nawāb also tried to describe the beautiful scenes in a poem. In all humility, Bedil says that he followed[3] in the footsteps of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, and, in addition to the poem given above, he wrote his materpiece—the Maṣnavi *Ṭūr-e-Ma'rifat* in two days[4]. This shows that the creative urge[5] was so strong that he was not satisfied with the exquisite short poem. The Maṣnavī is a rare piece of natural poetry in the characteristic sweet and fluent style of Bedil. On his return from Bairāt, Bedil sent this Maṣnavi, like the Great[6] Sa'dī, to different[7] persons as a present—to 'Āqil Khān Rāzī, to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, and to Mīrzā Muhammad Amīn 'Irfān and Mīrzā 'Ibādullah.

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1. Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mir'ātul Khayāl*, pp. 292-93.
2. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 41.
3. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 64; *Kullīyāt-e-Bedil*, Ṣafdarī Edition, *Ṭūr-e-Ma'rifat*, p. 19. In *Ṭūr-e-Ma'rifat*, Bedil says:

عصای من درین گلگشت مقصود   نسیم فیض شکرالله خان بود
وگرنه من کجا کو پرفشانی   سرشکی بودم آنهم بی روانی

[My guide in this charming valley of desires was the breeze of Shukrullah Khān's favour.
Otherwise of what consequence am I? How could I flutter wings? I was but a tear and that too motionless.]

4. *Ṭūr-e-Ma'rifat*, p. 19:

دو روزی در پس زانو نشستم   خیالی را بهاری نقش بستم

[I sat meditating for two days and painted an idea into spring.]

5. Ibid., p. 3. About the charm, Bedil says:

کنون در کوه بیراٹ آب و رنگ است   که هرسنگش بدل بردن فرنگ است

[Now the Bairāt mountain has so much elegance and splendour,
That every stone bewitches the heart like a French beauty.]

6. Sa'dī has said:

دریغ آمدم زان همه بوستان   تهیدست رفتن سوی دوستان

[Out of all those gardens, I thought it regrettable,
To go empty handed towards the friends.]

Similarly, Bedil writes at page 34 of his *Raqq'āt* (Lucknow Edition) that he brought *Ṭūr-e-Ma'rifat* as a present for the lovers of poetry.

7. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, pp. 64, 49, 34, 45 respectively.

We have so far spoken of the trouble in Mewāt and have made scanty references to the Deccan – the real arena of cataclysmic uprisings. Sambhaji Marhatta, who had given refuge to Akbar, the rebellious son of Aurangzeb,[1] had proved a menace to the Mughul Empire, and Aurangzeb had, therefore, concentrated all his military strength in the Deccan. The armies of the Emperor captured[2] Bijapur in 1097 A.H. (1685-86 A.D.) because Sikandar, the King of Bijapur, had made alliance with Sambhaji. Aurangzeb was very gracious towards Sikandar who was enrolled among the Mughul peers, and was granted an annual pension of one lakh of rupees. Golkunda[3] was then conquered in 1098 A.H. (1686-87 A.D.). The Marhatta leader Sambhaji was captured[4] in 1100 A.H. (1688-89 A.D.) with twentyfive of his followers and their wives and daughters. These happy news of imperial victories sent a thrill of joy[5] in the hearts and the people had a general feeling of security. Our poet also shared the jubilations of the multitude. He wrote chronograms[6] to commemorate these victories. For the fall of Bijapur, the chronograms were جمشید نصرت جلوه گر (the Jamshid of victory has appeared) and سکندر را امان داد آن شه عادل (the Just Emperor granted amnesty to Sikandar). About Golkunda he said اعظم مطلوب (the great fulfilment) and فتح پادشاه نامور (victory of the renowned monarch). When Sambhaji was captured, Bedil ejaculated : با زن و فرزند سنبها شد اسیر (Sambha has been made captive with women and children). The last chronogram became popular and has been given in *Maā'sirul Umarā*.[7]

The short poems, which bear the chronograms given in the preceding paragraph, pay a glowing tribute to the justice, saintliness, and world-conquering resolution of Aurangzeb. This shows that, although Bedil entertained misgivings about the behaviour of Aurangzeb during the war of succession, his views about the pious Emperor had now undergone a happy orientation. Aurangzeb too seems to have formed a very high opinion of our poet. In his Ruqq'āt,

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1. Shāhnawāz Khān, *Ma'āsirul Umarā*, I, p. 8050.

2. Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhabul Lubab*, II, pp. 316-16; Sāqī, *Ma'āsir-e-Ālamgīrī*, pp. 279-80.

3. Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhabul Lubāb*, II, pp. 293, 378 ; Sāqī, *Ma'āsir-e-Ālamgīrī*, p. 299 ; Shāhnawāz Khān, *Ma'āsirul Umarā*, III, pp. 628-29.

4. Sāqī, *Ma'āsir-e-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 322. Shahnawāz Khān, *Ma'āsirul Umara*, II, p. 350.

5. Sāqī, *Ma'āsir-e-'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 320-22.

6. *Kulliyāt-i-Bedil*, Ṣafdarī Edition, *Qiṭ'āt*, p. 40.

7. Shāhnawāz Khān, *Ma'āsirul Umara*, p. 350.

the Emperor has quoted three verses of Bedil. In a letter[1] to Prince A'ẓam Shāh, Auranzeb exhorts speedy extirpation of the ruffians who infest the royal road between Bahādurpur and Aurangābād and quotes Bedil[2] :

من نمی گویم زیان کن یا بفکر سود باش   ای زفرصت بیخبر در هرچه باشی زود باش

[I do not ask you to lose or think of gain,
O thou, unaware of opportunity, be prompt in every undertaking.]

In another letter[3] the same prince has been asked to redress the wrongs done to the poor, because according to Bedil :

بترس از آه مظلوماں که هنگام دعا کردن   اجابت از در حق بهر استقبال می آید

[Be afraid of the sighs of the oppressed ones for when they pray
Acceptance rushes from the door of the Almighty to receive it.]

This verse has again been quoted in a letter to Asad Khān, and there the full name[4] of the poet, i.e. 'Abdul Qādir Bedil, has been given. At another place[5] the following famous *Maqṭa'*[6] of Bedil has also been adduced :

حرص قانع نیست بیدل ورنه اسباب معاش   آنچه ما درکار داریم اکثری درکار نیست

[Bedil, greed is never contented, otherwise the goods,
Which we require, are most often not required.]

That Bedil has been cited by the great 'Ālamgīr is a conclusive proof of the fact that the poet's enlightened contemporaries had begun to recognise his merit.

From the chronograms, concerning the victories of Aurangzeb in the Deccan, one may conclude that Bedil wanted to win the Emperor's favour. The same feeling rises in the mind when one reads Bedil writing[7] to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān to mention the chronograms to the Emperor if some opportunity offers itself. It may also be mentioned in this connection that Nawāb Zafar Jang,[8] who took part in the siege of Bijapur, had also asked[9] Bedil for a chronogram, and Bedil wanted to comply with his request. If we

1. *Ruqq'āt-e-'Ālamgīr*, p. 8 ; *Letters of Aurangzeb*, pp. 26-27. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 376. Khushgū is wrong when he says that the letter was written to Prince Mu'aẓẓam during the siege of Ḥayderābād.

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Ghazliyāt*, p. 225.

3. *Ruqq'āt-e-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 19.

4. Ibid., p. 46.

5. Ibid., p. 27. The occasion for quoting the verse given by Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 368, is wrong.

6. *Kullīyāt-e-Bedil, Ghazlīyāt*, p. 79. *Maqṭa'* is the last verse of a ghazal.

7. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 44.

8. Sāqī, *Ma'āsir-e-'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 255, 261, 311 ; Khān Jahān Bahādur Zafar Jang was a noble at the court of Aurangzeb.

9. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, p. 44.

study the historic letter[1] of Bedil, in which these things have been narrated to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, we can easily understand why the chronograms were discovered and why Bedil wanted them to be presented to Aurangzeb. Bedil says:

مژدهٔ فتح پادشاه دین پناه که سبب جمعیت عالمی است دلیل فکر تاریخی گردیده -

> [The happy news of the victory of the Emperor, Defender of the Faith, which has brought peace and security to the people, has led me to think of chronograms.]

The significance of the word جمعیت عالمی will be understood better if the graphic account of Bedil's last days in Muthura, and of his journey at that time to Dehli with his family, is kept in mind. Naturally, Bedil wanted to pay homage to the victorious Emperor who had again promised peace to the realm. Otherwise, Bedil's independence of spirit was unimpaired as ever, for in the same letter he says about Zafar Jang and Aurangzeb:

وگرنه چه نواب و کدام مستطاب بلکه چه عالمگیر و کدام بدر منیر - بطریق شوق بی پروا نگاشتنی دارد و باهنگ ساز بی نیازی سراز پرده بیرون می آرد -

> [Otherwise of what moment is the Nawāb and who is His Excellency? Nay, even what is 'Ālamgīr and what is the value of his glaring titles? I composed it selflessly and spoke in a disinterested manner.]

In 1100 A.H. (1688-89 A.D.) Bedil fell gravely[2] ill, and was confined to bed for full seven months. He had a high burning fever which consumed his strength altogether. Every hope of recovery was lost. During those days a friend happened to open the book which contained Bedil's painting by Anūp Chitrā. The friend, immediately on noticing the portrait, said, "It appears some child touched the painting with wet hands and effaced its colour." All those present were sorry. Bedil himself saw it that only the indistinct outlines remained—an illusion of the once colourful portrait!

بدل زاں گلستاں همیں داغ ماند　　　ز طاؤس آخر پر زاغ ماند

> [Of that garden only a scar was left on the heart, and
> Of the peacock only a crow's feather was left behind.]

When Bedil recovered and was again full of vigour and vitality, he thought of looking at the portrait. He was wonderstuck to see that it was as colourful as ever, and it appeared as if Bedil was smiling through it. All were surprised to see this. In a fit of bewilderment, Bedil tore it to pieces and buried it.

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1. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, p. 44.
2. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Chahār 'Unṣur*, pp. 111-12.

From this account it is clear that the portrait of Bedil, painted by Anūp Chitrā, one of the master-painters[1] of those days, was destroyed by the poet himself. But Anand Rām Mukhliṣ (1111-1164/1699-1751), a pupil[2] of Bedil, speaks[3] about another portrait of our poet :

در کتاب خانه فقیر دیوان ایشان بدستخط ایشان است و تا صورت و معنی هر دو بجلوه آید شبیهه ایشان رونق افزای ورق آخر دیوان است ۔

> [In the library of this Faqīr (Mukhliṣ) there is an autograph copy of his (Bedil's) Dīwān. And, so that the form and the spirit should exist together, his portrait decorates the last leaf of the Dīwān.]

In the *Ma'ārif* for January 1934, it has been stated that this Dīwān of Bedil exists in the Ḥabīb Ganj Library. The Dīwān is said to have 5,364 couplets of all sorts, and has been called "Matchless." It is said to have this significant remark in the handwriting of Mukhliṣ :

بدستخط میرزا بیدل علیه‌الرحمته ۔ فقیر انند رام مخلص از نظر میرزا صاحب گذرانیده این معنی بصحت رسید ۔

> [With the autograph of Ḥazrat Mīrzā Bedil (may his soul rest in peace !). Faqīr Anand Rām Mukhliṣ showed it to Mīrzā Ṣāḥib, and established its authenticity.]

It is a pity that no mention of the portrait has been made. We have, therefore, to be content with the pen-portrait of Bedil given previously.

Bedil was now living in Shāh Jahānābād, but as his attention had been claimed chiefly by the political events of those days, we could not speak so far about his life in the capital except giving an account of his illness. It is, therefore, essential that an attempt should be made to show how Bedil led his life in the historic city. First of all, we shall speak about his social relations. As it has been already pointed out, 'Āqil Khān Rāzī, the patron of Bedil, was in those days in Shāh Jahānābād, as the Governor[4] of the city. The Khān was a mystic poet and was well versed in mystical[5] lore. As weekly meetings had been arranged with him, Bedil used to see him regularly. Khushgū says that in 'Āqil Khān's society, Bedil learnt much about

1. Ja'far, S.M., *Some Cultural Aspect of Muslim Rule in India*, p. 135.
2. Āzād Bilgrāmi, *Khazāna-e-'Āmirah*, p. 425 ; Mukhliṣ, Anand Rām, *Chamistān*, p. 68 ; Muṣḥafi, *'Iqd-e-Surayyā*, p. 53.
3. Mukhliṣ, *A page in his hand*, f. 1. (Also in Oriental College Magazine.)
4. It is said the Dīwān was compiled in 1098 A.H. But, it must be noted, Mukhliṣ was not born then. See *Bazm-e-Tīmūrīya*, p. 310.
5. Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mir'atul Khayāl* pp. 288-90. Sarkhush, *Kalimātush Shu'arā*, p. 40. Shahnawāz, *Ma'asirul Umarā*, pp. 821-22.

mysticism and poetry. Whenever in the meetings, 'Aqil Khān Rāzī complimented Bedil for his verses, he used to stand up and bow respectfully to the Khān. This respect, Khushgū says,[1] was merely on account of the learning and spiritual eminence of 'Āqil Khān Rāzī, and not at all on account of his exalted worldly position. In the *Kullīyāt of Bedil* there is a very eloquent poem,[2] in which he speaks glibly about the mystical ways of 'Āqil Khān Rāzī, and urges the people to show utmost reverence to this perfect man :

بدعا ابی است کای بی دانشان جهل کیش
دیده بکشائید و طوف حضرت انسان کنید

[I mean
O thou foolish and ignorant people,
Open your eyes and circumambulate round the Perfect Man.]

This poem discloses that in the person of 'Āqil Khān Rāzī, Bedil saw the realisation of his cherished ideals about Man. This mutual respect made their relations so intimate that in one of his letters[3] we find Bedil recommending one 'Alā-ud-Dīn to the grand noble.

Next we turn to the long and intimate acquaintanceship, amounting to passionate love, which existed between Bedil and Nawāb Shukrullah Khān and his sons. This is the glorious chapter of Bedil's life, detailed account of which will require a whole volume, but, owing to the considerations of space, I shall try to be as brief as possible. Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Āzād says that Nawāb Shukrullah Khān was devoted[4] to Bedil, with all the members of his family, and Bedil too was most sincerely attached to them. The Nawab had three sons: Mīr Luṭf Ullah, Mīr 'Ināyatullah Shākir Khān, and Mīr Karāmullah. But first of all we shall speak about Bedil's relations with Nawāb Shukrullah Khān Khāksār[5] himself.

Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Āzād states[6] that Nawāb Shukrullah Khān's last appointment was as the Governor of Mewāt where he remained till his death. He was, therefore, almost always away from Shāh Jahānābād, but his correspondence with Bedil never stopped, and at the time of his occasional visits to the Metropolis, meetings with the poet were eagerly arranged.

We have seen that once he took the poet away to Mewāt. At another time Shukrullah Khān was in Sahāranpūr and Bedil went to

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1. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, pp. 40, 41.
2. *Kullīyāt-e-Bedil, Qiṭ'āt*, p. 53.
3. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 83.
4. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 149.
5. Khāksār was the Takhalluṣ of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān. See Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mir'ātul Khayāl*, p. 292.
6. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 149.

see him. It was the rainy season and floods of water were rolling about. From Luni to Sheikupura, Bedil had to swim, but still he could not reach Sahāranpūr and hence returned[1] to Delhī. Moreover, when Nawāb Shukrullah Khān was away, a stream of presents continued to pour in from him to Bedil. Thus we see him sending[2] sugar, patched clothing of a Darwīsh, cloth, henna on the occasion of 'Id; oil of roses, almond-oil, bottles of distilled rose-water, myrobalan and zedoary (هلیله وجدوار) when Bedil fell ill; jam, clothing for the summer season, and mangoes from Sahāranpūr. We see that Nawāb Shukrullah Khān remembers Bedil on all occasions—on festivals, at the change of seasons, when the poet is indisposed, and ordinarily when the Nawāb thinks something will please Bedil. This, we know, is in addition to the daily allowance of Rs. 2 and the residential quarters arranged for Bedil by the Nawāb.

Bedil, on his part, had exclusive and excessive fondness for Nawāb Shukrullah Khān. At the end of a letter,[3] Bedil writes to the Nawāb:

چه امکان است وهم غیر گنجد در دماغ من
توئی منظور اگر چشمم توئی مسموع اگر گوشم

[How is it possible that I should have fancies about others in my mind?

My eyes have thee in view and my ears are lent to thine voice alone.]

In another letter[4] he says:

زبان را جز ستائش آنجناب نفس کشیدن خجالت گویائی و دیده را جز تصور آنجمال آغوش کشیدن یاس بینائی۔

[It would be shameful for my tongue to speak except in expressing my gratefulness to you; and would be disappointed with my sight if my eyes entertain fancies except about your lovely beauty.]

In 1101 A.H. (1689-90 A.D.) marriage took place of Mīr 'Ināyatullah, son of Shukrullah Khān, and Bedil wrote two congratulatory poems on the occasion. Every hemistitch of the one[5] beginning with this verse:

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1. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, p. 87.
2. Ibid., Lucknow Edition, pp. 14, 15, 26, 29, 35, 39, 71, 75, 77, 90, and 92 respectively.
3. Ibid., p. 71.
4. Ibid., p. 87.
5. Sher Khān Lodhi, *Mir'ātul Khayāl*, p. 392.

کاشانه صلای عیش دارد   ای دهر طرب مبارکت باد

[This lodging invites you for merrymaking
O Time ! be honoured with mirth]

is a chronogram, while in the other[1] the chronogram is : قران مه و مهر تابان (the conjunction of the moon and the luminous sun). The latter poem has a very fluent and delightful metre and can rightly be considered classical. Similarly, a marriage[2] had taken place in Shukrullah Khān's family in 1099 A.H. (1687-88 A.D.). Bedil had written a nice poem on the occasion. We have also seen how Bedil wrote chronograms when Shukrullah Khān was victorious in Mewāt. There are short poems (قطعات) written on the occasion[3] of the Islamic festivals and on the Nawāb's promotion[4] to higher Manṣabs.

But we read poetry of the highest order when Bedil sings with an ardent longing in the absence of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān asking[5] him to come back to Shah Jahānābād :

ای انجمن عشرت جاوید بیا   ای حاصل صد هزار امید بیا
ظلمت کده است بی رخت کشور ما   با طبل و علم چو نور خورشید بیا

[O the assembly of eternal bliss, come hither !
O the yield of a hundred thousand hopes, come hither !
Without thy presence this land is the abode of darkness.
With banners and drums, like the light of the sun, come hither.]

And again[6] with greater sadness, deeper emotions, and profounder thoughts :

ای بهارستان اقبال ای چمن سیما بیا
فصل سیر دل گذشت اکنون بچشم ما بیا
عرض تخصیص از فضولیهائی آداب وفاست
چون نگه در دیده یا چون روح در اعضا بیا
بیش ازین نتوان حریف داغ حرمان زیستن
یا مرا از خود ببر آنجا که هستی یا بیا

[O the flower-garden of fortune ! O, with forehead like an Orchard ! Come now.
The time for a walk through the heart has ended
Before my eyes you should come now.

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1. *Kullīyāt-e-Bedil*, Ṣafdarī Edition, *Qiṭ'āt*, p. 45.
2. Ibid., p. 47.
3. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, pp. 13, 29.
4. Ibid., pp. 8, 30 ; Beale, T. W., *Miftāḥ-ut Tawārīkh*, p. 286.
5. *Kullīyāt-e-Bedil*, Ṣafdarī Edition, *Qiṭ'āt*, p. 58.
6. Ibid., p. 52.

Making special requests is against the etiquette of fidelity.
Like sight in the eyes or like the soul in limbs, come now.
I can no longer stand this heart-sore of separation.
Take me away where you are, or come now.]

In a letter[1] too, love-lorn Bedil writes in this strain to Shukrullah Khān. When the Nawāb pays visits to Dehlī Bedil's joy knows no bounds. He writes forceful, magnificent, sweet and soul-stirring[2] poems which, it is regretted, cannot be quoted at length for want of space.

Where there is boundless love, all formality usually disappears, and a unique unity of hearts is the result. We, therefore, find Bedil as one of the members of the family of Shukrullah Khān—a member who is loved, respected, trusted, and whose advice is cherished and valued. Nawāb Shukrullah Khān wants to arrange for the matrimony[3] of his daughter and he consults Bedil. Delicacy of such tender and sincere relations also comes into view when we read Bedil expressing[4] regret at leaving Shukrullah Khān's house without saying good-bye. At one place Bedil writes even about his slight bronchitis[5] to the Nawāb. There are also letters in which Bedil recommends[6] people to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān. Moreover, we find them sharing each other's sorrows. Bedil writes letters of condolence when any of Shukrullah Khān's relatives passes away.

Yet there is another phase of their relations which is far more important from our point of view. The literary world owes a great debt of gratitude to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, because it was due to his unreserved attachment for Bedil that we possess some brilliant literary gems.

Bedil got much-needed encouragement, appreciation, and stimulus from his association with the Nawāb, who was himself, as we know, a poet. Bedil sent[8] his *Ṭilism-e-Ḥairat* to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān who gave titles to its different sections and sub-sections. *Ṭūr-e-Ma'rifat* was composed at the instance[9] of the Nawāb. The poem *Gul-e-Zard*, which is said to have 150 couplets, was also sent to Shukrullah Khān on completion.[10] In a letter Bedil writes to the Nawāb that *Chahār 'Unṣur* and the Masnavī *'Irfān* are both[11] being written, and Bedil must have sent these works on their completion to him,

1. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 5.
2. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Ṣafdari Edition, *Qiṭ'āt*, pp. 42, 53.
3. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, Luknow Edition, p. 27.
4. Ibid., pp. 11, 14.
5. Ibid., p. 24.
6. Ibid., pp. 6, 10, 82.
7. Ibid., pp. 3, 63.
8. Ibid., p. 48.
9. Ibid., p. 62.
10. Ibid., p. 65.
11. Ibid., p. 69.

had the Nawāb been alive. A selection[1] of Bedil's Dīwān was also made by Nawāb Shukrullah Khān and Bedil wrote[2] :

لطف کریم بہانه جوست هر که را پسندید پسندید و هرچه را برگزید برگزید

[The favour of the munificent seeks excuses. Whatever it liked, it liked, and whatever it selected, it selected.]

In addition to this, there are other instances of their collaboration in literary work. Nawāb Shukrullah Khān was very much pleased with a *Maṭla'* and asked Bedil to complete[3] a ghazal in the same metre and rhyme. The Nawāb wrote a short poem necessitating the use of چشم و دل and sent it to Bedil who wrote a similar[4] poem. A poem of Bedil was rendered into prose[5] by Nawāb Shukrullah Khān and at another place we find Bedil correcting[6] the Nawāb's verses. Besides, a small pamphlet in prose, called *Gudrī Nāma*,[7] was written by Bedil when Nawāb Shukrullah Khān sent a Gudrī (patched clothing) to the poet. These literary compositions are, it is clear, in addition to the ones mentioned in the previous paragraphs.

In the presence of all this data, we can safely assert that with almost all the literary productions of Bedil Nawāb Shukrullah Khān is related in one way or the other. Moreover, we know Bedil wrote his *Tilism-e-Hairat* in 1080 A.H. (1669-70 A.D.) and he began his *Chahār 'Unṣur* in or about 1095 A.H. (1683-84 A.D.). As already pointed out, we observe that for a long period of fifteen years Bedil produced no work. As soon as he left Muthura, owing to the disturbances, and settled permanently in Dehlī, full bloom of his literary talents began, and his comparative sterility was suddenly changed into prolificness of unusual character. We are, therefore, thankful to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān for stimulating Bedil's mind to literary activity, by establishing a sweet and enviable relationship with him and by arranging all sorts of comforts for him. The Nawāb also gained much. He earned eternal fame simply due to Bedil.

Of the sons of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, Mīr 'Ināyatullah Shākir Khān's devotion to Bedil is unsurpassed. After Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, 'Abdul Wahhāb Iftikhār, the author of *Taẕkira-e-Benaẓīr*, mentions[8] in particular the name of Shākir Khān, who

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1. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, Luknow Edition, p. 17.
2. Ibid., p 37.
3. Ibid., p. 42.
4. Ibid., p. 54.
5. Ibid., p. 20.
6. Ibid., p. 26.
7. Kābul Museum Ms. No. 33 ; *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, p. 15.
8. Iftikhār, 'Abdul Wahhāb, *Taẕkira-e-Benaẓīr*, p. 39.

distinguished himlesff or his reverential regard for our poet. Shākir Khān had won this distinction during the lifetime of his father, as the following verses[1] show :

جهد تگ و پوئی قطره از عمان پرس
عزم شبنم ز نیر تابان پرس
تا مرجع بیدل به یقین فهم کنی
از شکر الله خان و شاکر خان پرس

[Ask of the Gulf of 'Omān, about the efforts made in search by a drop.
Ask of the radiant luminary about the intention of the dew-drops.
If you want to make sure about the resort of Bedil,
Ask of Shukrullah Khān and Shākir Khān.]

Shākir Khān's fondness for Bedil was so overwhelming that when Bedil tried to compare the father with the son, in this respect, he found no difference:

از شاکر خان[2] اگر دلت آگه است
آن شکر الله خان بی اشتباه است
آنجا الف آمده است و این جا الله
چون وانگری الف همان الله است

It is because of this deep and profound love that Shakir Khān can claim, of course after Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, the largest[3] number of the letters written by Bedil. In a letter[4] a prayer for Shakir Khān gushes out of the heart of Bedil which is unique on account of its spontaneity :

به محفل شمع تابان درگلستان رنگ و بو باشی
الهیٰ هر کجا باشی بهار آبرو باشی

[May you be a shining lamp in the assembly, and hue and fragrance in the garden.
May you everywhere be the flower of dignity !]

Such like spontaneous expressions of tender emotions can be multiplied[5] but the space does not permit. We see that Shākir also, like his father, used to send presents[6] to Bedil.

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1. *Kullīyāt-e-Bedil, Qiṭ'āt*, p. 60.
2. Ibid.
3. *Ruaqq'at-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, pp. 8, 33, 35, 38, 40, 43, 61, 71, 88, 90, 93, 99, 101, 129.
4. Ibid., p. 33.
5. Ibid., p. 71, 90 ; *Kullīyāt-e-Bedil, Qiṭ'āt*, pp. 44, 55, 56. The poem beginning with : النوید ای دل که عمر رفته را دریافتم (Good news, O my heart, I have regained my passed age) shows in particular the joy Bedil felt on the arrival of Shākir Khān in Dehli.
6. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, pp. 35, 41, 71.

Next, we shall speak of Mīr Karamullah ʿĀqil Khān ʿĀshiq, the youngest son of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān. Karamullah Khān was a poet and a pupil[1] of Bedil. The Nawābzāda earned a fame by writing a commentary[2] of the Holy Qurān. Bedil's excessive love for his pupil is manifest from the following couplets, which Bedil wrote in a letter[3] to the Mīr :

از حسرت دیدار چه گویم چه نویسم دل می کشد آزار چه گویم چه نویسم
خجلت کش شوق است چه تحریروچه تقریر آخر کم و بسیار چه گویم چه نویسم

[About my longing for a meeting with you, what should I say or write ?
My heart is under oppression, what should I say or write ?
My writings and my speech cannot express my yearning ;
After all, what more or less should I say or write ?]

Mīr Karamullah also used to send presents[4] to Bedil.

Last comes Mīr Luṭfullah, the eldest[5] son of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān. It appears that this Nawābzāda could not make headway in his relations with Bedil during the lifetime of his father. We only know that when in 1096 A.H. (1684-85 A.D.) Mīr Luṭfullah's son was born, Bedil composed two chronograms[6] ندائے عالم فیض and نہال باغ ادب.

Mutual respect and attachment of this kind is not tolerated by jealous people. There was a Qalandar, named Shād, who, out of jealousy and grudge, began to accuse Bedil of "flattering Nawāb Shukrullah Khān and his sons notwithstanding the fact that they were his pupils." This, he said, did not become a *faqīr*. One day, a certain Shāh Murtaẓā told Bedil that the Qalandar had again indulged in his wonted accusations. Being sensitively jealous of his own reputation, Bedil flew into rage at this uncalled-for insolence from Shād, and, in a letter,[7] at first furiously called Shād an infidel, an ungrateful ape, a stupid bear, the tweezers of the public region (موچینۂ زهارستان) and a foul-mouthed, contemptible, and wretched person, and then told him that he (Bedil) was not at all the teacher of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān and his sons. If, on the other hand, Bedil continued, out of courtesy they called themselves Bedil's pupils, he was not so shameless as to call himself the teacher of those noble souls who were, no doubt, his patrons.

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1. Sarkhush, Muḥammad Afẓal, *Kalim-atush Shu'arā*, p. 80 ; 'Alī Ḥasan Khān, *Subḥ-e-Gulshan*, p. 271 ; Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 41 ; *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, pp. 34, 93.
2. 'Alī Ḥasan Khān, *Sub'-e-Gulshan*, p. 271.
3. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, Ṣafdari Edition, pp. 105-06.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p. 50.
6. Ibid., p. 20.
7. Ibid., pp. 84-85.

Jealous criticism and rivalry were expressed in another quarter also. Nāṣir 'Alī Sirhindī, who had been in Karnatak[1] in the Deccan for some time in 1103 A.H. (1691-92 A.D.) with Nawāb Zulfiqār Khān, the brave general[2] of Aurangzeb, had come to live permanently in Shāh Jahānābād. We know Nāṣir 'Alī was at one time a favourite[3] of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān. When he came to know that unsurpassed love prevailed between Bedil and the Nawāb, he felt jealous. Sher Khān Lodhī says that one day in a meeting[4] at Nawāb Shukrullah Khān's, Bedil had a chance to see Shaikh Nāṣir 'Alī. Bedil recited his ghazal beginning with the following verse :

نشد آئینهٔ کیفیت ما ظاهر آرائی
نهان ماندیم چون معنی بچندین لفظ پیدائی

[The mirror of our quality could not show our reality,
Like the meaning we remained hidden in so many words explaining our nature.]

The Shaikh grew ecstatic on hearing most of the verses, but about the *Maṭla'* (the opening verse) he said, "The idea expressed in the second hemistitch is against the rule. The meaning is always subordinate to the word and, when the word is known, the meaning should automatically become clear." On hearing this, Bedil smiled and said in reply, "The meaning, which you regard subordinate to the word, is itself nothing but a word. Take the example of 'Man.' In spite of all the details and the commentaries which we find about 'Man' in various books, his nature is still a mystery." This peremptory reply silenced Nāṣir 'Alī. As Sher Khān Lodhī completed[5] his Tazkira *Mir'ātul Khayāl*, in which this event has been narrated, in 1102 A.H. (1690-91 A.D.), this meeting must have taken place before that date. When on his return from Karnatak in 1103 A.H. (1691-92 A.D.) Nāṣir 'Alī observed greater intimacy between Shukrullah Khān and Bedil, the jealous poet naturally would have been more incensed.

The Shaikh was only four or five years older[6] than Bedil, but at this time his literary activities had shown a decline, while, about the fertile genius of Bedil, Khushgū[7] says, "Shāh Gulshan remarked now

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1. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 139.
2. Sāqī, *Ma'āṣir-e-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 390 ; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma,āṣirul Umarā*, I, p. 93.
3. Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mir'ātul Khayāl*, pp. 292-302.
4. Ibid., p. 389-90.
5. Ibid., p. 466.
6. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 131 ; Nāṣir 'Alī was about sixty when he died in 1108 A.H.
7. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 44.

and again that at the time when Bedil had composed 30,000 verses, "and was making progress by leaps and bounds, Mīān Nāṣir 'Alī ceased to make any progress, and was contented with what he had already written." But Nāṣir 'Alī found a very able lieutenant in the person of the famous poet Muḥammad Afẓal Sarkhush, who was brought up in Sirhind and who used to practise versification with Nāṣir 'Alī Sirhindī, when both of them were of tender age.[1] Muḥammad Afẓal Sarkhush, too, had settled[2] in Shāh Jahānābād. Sarkhush says that at the instance[3] of Mīān Nāṣir 'Alī, he applied first hemistitch to many verses of Bedil and changed them into *Matla's* (opening verses). I shall quote here only one example[4] which appears to be a very successful attempt on the part of Sarkhush :

Bedil :

به فرصت نگهی آخراست تحصیلم   برات رنگم و برگل نوشته اند مرا

[In the twinkling of an eye my acquisitions are no more ;
I am a draft in colour written on a petal.]

Sarkhush :

زبی ثباتی عشرت سرشته اند مرا   برات رنگم و برگل نوشته اند مرا

[I have been kneaded with the transitoriness of pleasures ;
I am a draft in colour written on a petal.]

The word بی ثباتی undoubtedly makes the idea clear, but, from the literary point of view, the charm contained in the appropriate words فرصت نگه and برات رنگ has been lost. There are other[5] instances also but those need not be quoted for want of space.

Bedil had a favourite pupil,[6] named Aḥmad – a rebeck-player (از رباب نوازان), whose original *nom-de-plume* was Maftūn but he had changed it to 'Ibrat at the suggestion of Bedil. 'Ibrat had derived much benefit from Bedil, and was so dear to him that when he ('Ibrat) died in 1125 A.H. (1713-14 A.D.), tears went on trickling down the eyes of Bedil for a long time. Once[7] Nāṣir 'Alī composed a ghazal with the following *Matla* and proclaimed in Shāh Jahānābād that if anyone wrote a ghazal in reply, he (Nāṣir 'Alī) would be convinced of the poet's leading position in the Realm of Literature.

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1. Sarkhush, *Kalimātuth, Shu'arā*, Preface, p. 1.
2. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 144 ; Sarkhush, *Kalimātush Shu'arā*, Preface, pp. 3, 4.
3. *Kalimātush Shu'arā*, p. 15.
4. Ibid., pp. 15, 16.
5. Ibid.
6. Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mir'ātul Khayāl*, pp. 372-73 ; Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 46 ; Ṣiddīq Ḥasan, *Sham'-e-Anjuman*, p. 320.
7. Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mir'ātul Khayāl*, pp. 375, 382.

مقیم کوئے تو سختی کشان دلتنگ اند   کہ نالہ گر نکند فاش آتش سنگ اند

[The dwellers in your street are the grieved persons enduring hardships,
Whose groans if do not reveal them, they will remain hidden like fire in the flint.]

By chance, none wrote a ghazal in reply but Bedil asked Aḥmad 'Ibrat to compose one. 'Ibrat, therefore, composed a nice ghazal, with the following *Matla'* :

بوادیٔ تو کہ وا ماندگان دل تنگ اند
زاشک خویش رواں همچو چشمۂ سنگ اند

[In your valley the gloomy and disappointed persons
Weep, and with their tears a stream, like that of a mountain, flows out]

Both the ghazals have been given[1] in the Tazkira *Mir'ātul Khayāl*. When Nāṣir 'Alī heard the ghazal of 'Ibrat, he was reticent. It was because of this rivalry that when the Shaikh breathed his last[2] in 1108 A.H. (1696-97 A.D.), Bedil's chronograms[3] was:

رنگ ناز بشکست

As in the beginning[4] Shaikh Sa'dullah Gulshan was a pupil of Sarkhush, and afterwards had begun to associate himself with Bedil also, Khushgū once thought[5] that Gulshan could prove instrumental in bringing Sarkhush and Bedil together. Khushgū was of opinion that reconciliation between these two literary giants would certainly prove immensely fruitful. Khushgū and Gulshan, therefore, together approached Sarkhush, who refused, saying, "Perhaps you want to see the fight of two elephants." Sarkhush then recited the following *Matla'* of Bedil :

از فضل حق ز هر دو جهان رم گرفته ایم
یک در گرفته ایم وچه محکم گرفته ایم

[Through Divine Favour, we have abandoned both the worlds ;
We have taken hold of one door and how tightly we hold it.]

and remarked that فضل حق (Divine Favour) was required everywhere except in this verse. Khushgū says that Sirāj-ud-Din-'Alī Khān Ārzū[6] regarded this objection as absolutely wrong. This, however, goes to the credit of Sarkhush that in his Tazkira *Kalimātush Shu'arā*,

1. Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mir'ātul Khayāl*, pp. 375, 382.
2. Azād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 131.
3. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942.
4. Sarkhush, *Kalimatush Shu'arā*, p. 98.
5. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, for July 1942, p. 44.
6. Khān Ārzū (1100-1169 A.H.), a great linguist and poet, who left *Mouhabat-e-'Uzmā*, *'Aṭia-e-Kubrā*, *Sirājul Lughat*, *Chirāgh-e-Hidāyat*, *Nawādirul Alfāz*, and *Dād-e-Sakhun* on philology and rhetorics. See *Sarw-e-Āzād*, pp. 227-31.

which he kept improving[1] till 1115 A.H. (1703-04 A.D.), he has unqualified praise for Bedil as a poet and admits that no poet in Shāh Jahānābād was a match[2] for him. This admission must have been made after the death of Nāṣir 'Alī.

From the literary field we should turn to the spiritual domain. Both Nāṣir 'Alī and Sarkhush were Ṣūfīs. The former lived in Shāh Jahānābād with claims to "polehood"[3] (قطبیت) while the latter says[4] about himself:

سرخوش چو رسید کار فقرش بکمال　　مرشد دادش خلافت از استقبال
روی طلب آورد جهانی به نیاز　　تاریخ شده خلیفهٔ شاه جلال

[When the mysticism of Sarkhush attained perfection,
His spiritual leader granted him vicariate,
A large number of people came respectfully for benedictions,
The chronogram was: Vicar of Shāh-e-Jalāl.]

Mīān Nāṣir 'Alī was about fifty when he claimed polehood and Sarkhush was[5] fortyfive when he talked about his perfection (کمال) in Mysticism. In direct contrast with these pretentious claims, Bedil's humility is marvellous. At the age of twentysix he had realised that the titles like غوث, ابدال and قطب were quite unsubstantial, and about کمال (perfection) we have only to read the following verses[6] from Bedil's *Muḥīṭ-e-A'ẓam*, which he wrote at the youthful age of twentyfour:

شنیدم که شیخ زمان بایزید　　شبی داشت باعشق گفت و شنید
به بحر حضور تجلی شهود　　خیالش نقاب تمنا کشود
که یا رب چه آرم من بوالفضول　　که یابد درین بزم رنگ قبول
ندا آمد از حضرت ذوالجلال　　که فرش است اینجا بهار کمال
زجنس عبادات و علم و عمل　　مهیاست این کشور بی خلل
کمال ترا کس خریدار نیست　　متاعی بجز نقص درکار نیست

[I have heard that Bayazid,[7] the leader of the world,
Had one night conference with Love.
In that flood of Glorious Light,
His mind ventured to reveal a wish.
"My Lord! What should this worthless person do

1. Sarkhush, *Kalimātush Shu'arā*, Preface, p. 13.
2. Ibid., p. 14.
3. Ibid., p. 76.
4. Ibid., p. 129, *footnote*.
5. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 144.
6 *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Ṣafdarī Edition, *Muḥīṭ-e-A'ẓam*, p. 16.
7. Abū Yazid al-Bisṭāmī (261/875); 'Aṭṭār, Farīd-ud-Dīn, *Taẕkiratul Auliyā* p. 89; Smith, Margaret, *Mystics of Islam*, p. 26.

Which may be honoured with acceptance in this assembly ?"
He heard a Voice from that Glorious Presence :
"The bloom of perfection is Our floor
Things like prayer, knowledge, and good actions
Are all assorted in this flawless Realm.
None would buy your perfection,
Nothing but imperfection is required here.]

Bedil was in this way leading a very happy and successful life when two calamities befell him. In 1108 A.H. (1696-97 A.D.) Nawāb ʿAqil Khān Rāzī died.[1] Bedil mourned this loss in a poem,[2] and the chronogram was : مہدیٔ جمجاہ عاقل خاں نماند. In the poem hints were dolefully made about the grand noble as a poet, as an eminent mystic, and as a great administrator. In the same year on 8th Rabī I, (October 5, 1695) Nawāb Shukrullah Khān also passed away. Bedil's grief was insupportable and a cry of lamentation burst out of his heart :

فریاد کاں جمال کرم در جہاں نماند   طاؤس جلوه ریز درین آشیاں نماند

[Alas ! the glory of munificence is no more in the world,
The peacock displaying its beauty is no more in this nest.]

The following verse of this threnody[3] shows the extent of bereavement :

طوفان گریه بسکه زهر مجمع جوش زد   جز دجله در ممالک هندوستاں نماند

[Every crowd burst into a flood of tears ;
Nothing except the river Tigris remained in the length and breadth of Hindustan.]

While writing this poem of ten couplets, every hemistitch of which is a chronogram, Bedil was reminded of the kind regards and faithfulness (کرم و وفا) of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, the qualities which Bedil could never forget. Another[4] chronogram was : هشت از ماه ربیع الاول.

In a letter[5] to Mīr Lutfullah, the eldest son of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, Bedil sorrowfully remarked why he could not die with his friends and why he strayed behind his caravan. In another letter[6] to Mīr Lutfullah, condoling on his father's death, Bedil says :

از دست رفتن دامن دولتی که سلسلهٔ موافقتش دوازده سال محرک عشرت آهنگیٔ ساز انفاس بود چشم عبرت یکباره بر روئی ادبار تنهائی و بیکسی کشود ـ نه صحبت مشفقی که به علاج تفرقهٔ دل توان پرداخت نه طاقت حرکتی که به شغل سیر و سفر طرح آوارگی توان انداخت ـ

1. Sāqī, *Ma'āsir-e-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 383.
2. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, *Qiṭ'āt*, p. 57.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 62.
5. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 72.
6. Ibid., p. 76.

[On account of losing the skirt of Fortune, whose agreeableness made my life pleasant continuously for twelve years, my afflicted eyes find themselves face to face with loneliness and helplessness. There is neither the society of a kind-hearted friend, which might prove a remedy for the bereaved soul, nor have I the nerves to move about, so that I might go abroad (and remove my grief).]

This quotation shows that from 1096 A.H. (1685 A.D.), the date of the arrival of Bedil in Dehli from Muthura, to 1108 A.H. (1696 A.D.), the date of the sad demise of Nawāb Shukrullah Khan, the period of twelve years was of unparalleled happiness for Bedil.

From a perusal of the *Letters of Bedil* and his *Qiṭ'āt* we learn that Bedil's relations continued as usual with the successors of both 'Āqil Khān Rāzī and Nawāb Shukrullah Khān. Qayyūm Khān Fidāī, the son[1] of 'Āqil Khān Rāzī, was a poet. He used to send his ghazals[2] to Bedil, and letters were also exchanged[3] between them on occasions. In 1114 A.H. (1702-03 A.D.), the title of Shukrullah Khān was granted by Aurangzeb to Mīr Luṭfullah, the eldest son of Shukrullah Khān I. Bedil was very much pleased and communicated his congratulations in a letter, every phrase of which was a chronogram. In verse[5] too, the event was similarly commemorated and the following hemistitch is in particular noteworthy :

زنده آن رودی که موجش وصف دریا آب داد

[That river has eternal life whose waves even have the qualities of a river.]

This is again a lengthy account and I should be content with the most essential things. At one time (1110/1698) Mīr 'Ināyatullah Shākir Khān, the second son of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān I, was appointed the Governor of Shāh Jahānābād and Bedil was very happy.[6] At another time, to the great sorrow[7] of Bedil, Shākir Khān was called by the Emperor to the Deccan, and there he arranged a Jāgīr for Bedil, but our magnanimous *Faqīr* refused[8] to take possession of it. With Mīr Karamullah Khān 'Āshiq, the youngest son of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān I, too, Bedil's relations continued[9] to be as cordial as ever.

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1. *Ruqqa'āt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 5.
2. Ibid., p. 111.
3. Ibid., pp. 109, 110, 124.
4. Ibid., p. 45.
5. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Qi'ṭāt.*
6. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, p. 88.
7. Ibid., pp. 99, 101, 102.
8. Ibid., pp. 104.
9. Ibid., pp. 41, 46, 61, 103, 105.

In the preceding paragraphs I had the occasion to speak about two pupils of Mirza ʻAbdul Qādir Bedil, i.e. Ahmad ʻIbrat and Mīr Karamullah Khān ʻĀshiq. This fact of Bedil's having pupils brings to mind a very significant remark made by Rieu. He says, "In Delhī Bedil's house was the common resort of all lovers of poetry."[1] At this stage I would, therefore, like to give here, one by one, a brief and relevant account of those persons who came in contact with Bedil in this connection during the reign of Aurangzeb ʻĀlamgīr.

1. *Mīr Qamar-ud Dīn Shākir* son of Ghāzī-ud-Dīn Khān Bahādur Feroz Jang. This is the original name of Nizāmul Mulk Āṣaf Jāh. Aurangzeb ʻĀlamgīr granted him the Manṣab of 5,000, with the title of Chīn Qlīj Khān Bahādur, and was the ṣūbedār of Bījāpur till the Emperor's reign.[2] In tracing the gradual development of Chīn Qlīj Khān's relations with Bedil, we come across a letter[3] from which we learn that the poet sent his Dīwān and his Masnavīs to the Nawāb at his request. The joy which Bedil felt on the arrival of Chīn Qlīj Khān's letter is manifest from a poem[4] which is remarkable for its spontaneity, freshness of similes and metaphors, and the delightful metre, and in which there is a prayer for a meeting with the Nawāb :

یارب بآں تجلی رحمت که فضل تست　　لبریز نور کن زرخش چشم بیدلاں

[O God! by that Glory of Thy compassion, which is thine favour,
Let Bedil's eyes be filled with the light of his shining face.]

And when the Nawāb paid a visit, Bedil was highly pleased. Only a few selected verses are cited from the poem[5] written on the occasion:

بیار باده که بوئی بهار جاں آمد　　فروغ مهر ازل چن قلیج خاں آمد
بسیر کشور ما از نوید اقبالش　　سعادت آمد و امن آمد و اماں آمد
نداشت بیدل ما طاقت زیارت او　　کرم نمود و بدرماں خستگاں آمد

[Bring wine, I smell the advent of the life giving spring.
The glory of the sun of Eternity, i.e. Chīn Qlīj Khān, has arrived.
By the happy news of his fortunate visit, in our land,
Felicity, peace, and security have arrived.

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1. Rieu, *Catalogue of the British Museum, Arabic and Persian Mss.* F. 706 B.
2. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Khazāna-e-ʻĀmira*, p. 35 ; Sāqī, *Maʼāsir-e-ʻĀlamgīrī*, p. 340.
3. *Ruqqʻāt-e-Bedil*, pp. 14-15.
4. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, *Qiṭʻāt*, p. 44.
5. Ibid., p. 55

Our Bedil had not the strength to see him.
He showed kindness and himself came to see the exhausted ones.]

These relations developed into sincere friendship,[1] and, after Nawāb Shukrullah Khān I, the second member of the nobility of those days, entering into profoundest relationship with Bedil, was this Chīn Qlij Khān Whenever Bedil went to see the Nawāb at his residence he would respectfully receive and see off Bedil, and always offered[2] his Masnad to him. Visits were returned[3] by the Nawāb, and whenever he came, Bedil used to receive him at the door. Then, hand in hand, he would take the Nawāb inside, and very delightful meetings used to take place. The Nawāb very much liked the sweets prepared with eggs (حلوائی بیضهٔ مرغ) and he, therefore, often requested Bedil for the same. At the time of departure, when Bedil offered the Nawāb books like *Kimīyā-e-Sa'ādat*, and *Nafḥāt*,[4] the Nawāb would say, "Such like books are in abundance in my own library. I want the blessed gift of your own works." Then Bedil used to offer him autograph copies of his own works.

We have evidence[5] in support of the fact that the Nawāb sent his ghazals to Bedil for correction, and he, therefore, always regarded himself as the pupil[6] of Bedil. Khushgū says that the Nawāb compiled his Dīwān[7] with the help of Bedil. In Ḥaidarābād Deccan, two volumes of the Nawāb's Dīwān, one with the poetical title of Shākir, and the other with Āṣaf as *nom de plume* have been published, and from both the volumes, the Nawāb's indebtedness to Bedil is manifest. Bedil has a famous line[8] :

بیدل بودم هزار دل گر دیدم

[I was without a heart and now I have a thousand]

and the Nawāb says[9] :

یکدل هزار دل شده از گریه هائی ما

[By my weeping one heart broke into a thousand pieces.]

There is also a ghazal[10] in which a line of Bedil has been inserted in this way :

بیدل صاحب دل شاکر چه خوش فرموده است
هرچه لیلیٰ گویدم باید ز محمل بشنوم

1. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 367.
2. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 149 ; Iftikhār, 'Abdul Wahhāb, *Taẕkira-e-Benaẕir*, p. 39.
3. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 43.
4. کیمیائی سعادت by Alī-Ghazzālī, and نفحات الانس by Jāmī.
5. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, pp. 128, 136.
6. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 149 ; Iftikhār, *Taẕkira-e-Benazīr*, p. 39.
7. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 366 ; *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, p. 5.
8. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, p. 5.
9. Shākir, *Dīwān*, I, p. 15.
10. Ibid., pp. 312-3.

[Shākir ! What a superb saying has Bedil—the noble-hearted,
"Whatever Layla says to me I should hear from the litter."]

In the end I give below two opening verses of the ghazals of both the poets :

Bedil[1]:

گه از موئی میان شهرت دهد نازک خیالی را
گہے از چین ابرو سکته خواندیت عالی را

[At times by his hair-like thin waist the beloved gives publicity to subtle conceit,
And sometimes by the wrinkles of her brow she points to a pause even in a sublime verse]

Āṣaf[2] :

نگاه می فروشش پر کند مینائی خالی را
رخش از خوی تری بخشد بهار برشگالی را

[Her tipsy looks fill an empty goblet with wine ; and
Her face by its sweat lends freshness to the flowers of the rainy season.]

The rhyme and the metre of these two ghazals speak for themselves.

2. *Nawāb Sa'adatullah Khān*[3] in his *Gulshan-e-Sa'ādat*[4] is seen requesting Bedil for a gift of his *Tilism-e-Ḥairat*, *Muḥīṭ-e-A'ẓam* and his *Biyāẓe Khāṣ* (Anthology). The Biyāẓ (Anthology) has been ably described by Rieu[5] and contains choice poems by a vast number of poets. The Nawāb's letter to Bedil for the gift is a proof of the fact that our poet's works were studied eagerly by the scholars of those days.

3. *Mīr 'Abduṣ Samad Sakhun* : We already know the Mīr got his Takhalluṣ from Bedil. One day[6] Sakhun offered a Burhānpur-dagger to Bedil, who, being pleased with it, gave two amphibolic verses to Sakhun. As he lived with the Amīrs of low standing and, therefore, lived from hand to mouth, one day he read the following couplet complaining about his bad luck :

فلاطون گر بیاید می شود عاجز به تدبیرم
که منصب آتشیں داغی شد و جاگیر جان گیرم

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1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil.*
2. Āṣaf, *Dīwān*, p. 6.
3. The Nawāb was a noble at the court of Aurangzeb. See Shāhnawāz Khān, *Ma'āṣirul Umarā*, II, p. 513.
4. Sa'ādatullah Khān, *Gulshan-e-Sa'ādat*, Ms., Punjab University Library.
5. Rieu, *Catalogue of the British Museum Arabic and Persian Mss.* under Nos. 16902-03.
6. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 46.

[Even if Plato himself came, he would not be able to cure me.
My manṣab is a fiery brand and my Jāgīr robs me of life.]

On hearing the couplet, Bedil immediately changed the word آتشین into آتشک (syphilis). Sakhun was a pupil[1] of Bedil, and, from a letter[2] of Bedil, we learn that Sakhun sent his verses to Bedil, who was very much pleased and prayed :

رنگینی بہار سخن لایزال باد

[May the bloom of your verse be eternal!]

4. *Lāla Shiv Rām Ḥayā*[3] (d. 1144/1731) was a pupil of Bedil and wrote his *Gulgasht-e-Iram* in the style of Bedil's *Chahār 'Unṣur*.

5. *Lala Sukh Rāj Sabqat*[4] (d. 1138/1725) was the ablest of Bedil's Hindu pupils. He left a Dīwān having 10,000 verses, which was destroyed. Once he wrote the following quatrain about the birth of Bedil and showed it to him :

آن ذات ابد قدرت تنزیہہ مقام — عبدالقادر نمود تشبیہش نام
شد زندہ یکی بہر مسیحائی دیں — آمد دگر اکنون پئی احیائی کلام

[That Eternal Essence free from any mixture,
Gave its similitude the name of 'Abdul Qādir.
One was born to give new life to the Faith, and
The second now came for the Renaissance of verse.]

6. *Muḥammad 'Atā Ullah 'Atā*[4] (d. 1136/1723)[5] a pupil of Bedil who belonged to Murādābād. 'Aṭā Ullah was a great humourist and whenever he came, Bedil used to speak of his facetiae instead of his usual monotheistic verses. Bedil would say that 'Aṭā deserved to be instructed in facetious verses. Once Bedil granted him his own inkstand and his Biyāẓ. At this 'Aṭā composed the following Rubā'ī thanking Bedil :

بیدل شۂ اقلیم کمال ہر فن — از گوشۂ چشم تا نظر داشت بمن
از روئی عنائت قلمدان و بیاض — فرمود مرا وزارت ملک سخن

[Bedil, the sovereign ruler of the realm of the perfection of every art,
Regarded me with affection, and
He, therefore, granted to me his inkstand and *Biyāẓ*.
It means he made over to me the portfolio of verse.]

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1. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, p. 78.
2. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 48 ; Springer, I, p. 121 ; Alī, Ḥasan Khān, *Subḥ-e-Gulshan*, p. 144 ; Ḥusain Qulī Khān, *Nishtar-e-'Ishq*, I, Ms., F. 159.
3. 'Alī Ḥasan Khān, *Subḥ-e-Gulshan*, p. 199 ; Springer, Vol. I, p. 123.
4. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, pp. 47-48 ; 'Alī Ḥasan Khān, *Subḥ-e-Gulshan*, p. 197 ; Ṣiddīq Ḥasan, *Roz-e-Raushan*, p. 29 ; Ḥusain Qulī Khān, *Nishtar-e-'Ishq*, I, Ms. F. 232.
5. Khushgū, in *Ma,ārif*, July 1942, pp. 46-47 ; Springer, I, p. 126; 'Alī Ḥasan Khān, *Subḥ-e-Gulshan*, p. 287.

7. *Bindra Ban Dās Khushgū*[1]. On the authority of the author of *Maqālātush Shu'arā*, Springer writes that Khushgū too was a pupil of Bedil. Khushgū himself says that from his early life he came in contact with Bedil and learnt from him the contents of pamphlets on Prosody and on Riddles, and also several *Dīwāns* of Tāza-gū Poets. As both of them were of the same age, Bedil observed no formalities with Khushgū. It is from the *Safīna-e-Khushgū*[2] that many details about the life of Bedil are known. Khushgū says that he saw Bedil more than a thousand times in his life, and towards the end of Bedil's life he saw him almost daily.

8. *Barkhurdār Beg Fardī*[3] (d. 1119/1707), a poet and a pupil of Bedil.

9. *Mīr Muḥammad Aḥsan Ījād*[4] (d. 1133/1720) got his Takhalluṣ from Bedil and was also recommended by Bedil to Ḥusain Qulī Khān.

10. *Gur Bakhsh Ḥuẓūrī*[5] had meetings with Bedil for many years and thus attained perfection in versification.

11. *Mughal Khān Qābil*[6] (d. 1142/1729) was a pupil of Bedil. In the beginning his Takhalluṣ was *San'at* but changed it at the instance of Bedil.

12. *Shāh Sa'dullah Gulshan*[7] (d. 1141/1728) was in the beginning a pupil of Sarkhush, but on discovering a spiritual affinity with Bedil, he entered into the literary society of the latter. Both of them were ṣūfī poets and both loved music. Bedil suggested to Shāh Sa'dullah that he should have Gulshan as his poetical name in conformity with Shāh Gul, the name of his spiritual director. In *Maqālā tush Shu'arā*, he has been mentioned as one of the pupils of Bedil.

13. *Khwāja 'Abdullah Sāqī*[8] was a friend of Bedil.

14. *Āqā Ibrāhīm Faiẓān*,[9] son of Āqā Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān Nājī, often arranged poetical meetings at his house and invited

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1. Springer, I, p. 155; Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 48.

2. Manuscript copy of the second volume of the *Safīna of Khushgū* exists only in the Bankipur Library. From that copy Qāzī 'Abdul Wudūd of Patna diligently searched out all the details relating to Bedil and got them published in *Ma'ārif* for May and July, 1942.

3. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 47.

4. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, p. 118; Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 45; Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Khazāna-e-'Āmira*, p. 28.

5. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 45; Ṣiddīq Ḥasan, *Roz-e-Roushan*, p. 181.

6. Khushgū in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942 p. 48; 'Alī Ḥasan Khān, *Subḥ-e-Gulshān*, p. 315.

7. Sarkhush, *Kalimātush Shu'arā*, p. 96; Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 19; Springer, I, 128, 153; Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 47.

8. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 45.

9. Ibid.

Bedil. Khushgū says that he derived much benefit from those meetings

15. *Mīr Muhammad Zamān Rāsikh*[1] (d. 1107/1695) had intimate social relations with Bedil and entered into friendly competition with him in writing poetry.

16. *Īzad Bakhsh Rasā*[2] (d. 1119/1707), a pupil of 'Abdul 'Azīz 'Izzat and a convert from Shī'aism. He adopted *Sunnī* as his Takhalluṣ, but, in view of his tall stature, Bedil suggested Rasā. The poet accepted the title as soon as he heard it from Bedil, stood up, and bowed respectfully. He used to send his ghazals to Bedil for correction.

At several places in his *Ruqq'āt*,[3] Īzad Bakhsh Rasā has made references about Bedil. At one place he writes[4] to Prince A'zam Shāh :

بیدل همه دل را دیدم و از دلنهادش پرسیدم آخر شهر رمضان یا اول شوال آنجا می رسد ۔

[I saw Bedil who is all heart, and made enquiries about his intentions. Towards the end of the month of Ramazān or in the beginning of Shawwāl he will reach there.]

In another[5] letter he writes to the same prince :

انشاء الله العزیزمیرزا عبدالقادر بیدل که سراپا دل است عنقریب بملازمت سعادت اندوزد ۔

[God wishing, Mīrzā 'Abdul Qādir Bedil, who is all heart, will very soon make himself fortunate by entering your service.]

It appears that these letters were written when Bedil had not yet joined the army. We also learn from these quotations that Rasā was very much influenced by the spirit which actuated Bedil. Another statement[6] made by Rasā shows that both the poets were fast friends. At one time Bedil, Rasā, one Mīrzā Muhammad Ibrāhīm, and another Khwāja Habībullah were living together in a serai (inn) when some armed soldiers began to fight amongst themselves. Bedil, Rasā and their two other mates rushed to the scene and Rasā was wounded in the side by a stray arrow. I have not been able to

1. Sher Khān Lodhi, *Mir'ātul Khayāl*, p. 306 ; Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 44 ; Siddīq Hasan, *Sham'-e-Anjuman*, p. 174.
2. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 44 ; *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, pp. 4, 46.
3. Rasā, Īzad Bakhsh, *Ruqq'āt*, Punjab University Library, Ms. No. 3957.
4. Ibid., F. 7 a.
5. Rasā, Īzad Bakhsh, *Ruqq'āt*, Punjab University Library Ms. No. 3957, F. 7 b.
6. Ibid., No. 3957, F. 41 a.

determine[1] the date and place of this happening. Still, from this statement of Rasā we conclude that both the poets were intimate friends and associates.

17. *Muḥammad Amīn 'Irfān*[2] was a manṣabdār and a pupil of Bedil. On his return from Bairāt, Bedil sent his Masnavī *Ṯūr-e-Ma'rifat* to 'Irfan as a present brought from a distant place.

18. *Muḥammad Ṣādiq Ilqā*[3] was a pupil of Bedil.

19. *Sher Khān Lodhī*[4] had meetings with Bedil which have been mentioned in *Mir'ātul Khayāl*.

20. *Mirzā 'Ibādullah*[5] was a cousin of Bedil through maternal uncle and was older in age. He was a poet and a couplet by him has been given by Khushgū :

برنگی دوخت بلبل چشم برگل   که شد پیراهن گل چشم بلبل

[In such a way did the nightingale sew its eye on the flower,
That the eye of nightingale became the garment of flower.]

In his letters Bedil addresses Mīrzā 'Ibādullah as his brother. Mīrzā 'Ibādullah used to send his ghazals to Bedil who was always anxiously awaiting letters from his cousin. Bedil sent his *Ṯur-e-Ma'rifat* to Mīrzā 'Ibādullah also.

21. *Rafī' Khān Bāẕil*,[6] the celebrated writer of *Ḥamla-e-Ḥaidarī* having 90,000 verses, in the metre of *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, and in praise of the Prophet and his cousin and son in law 'Alī. Bāẕil was a friend of Bedil. In a letter Bedil recommended one Mīr Muḥammad and his friends to Bāẕil when he was the Governor of Barelī.

22. *'Āshiq Muḥammad*[7] met Bedil in Islāmābād (Muthura). Bedil calls him the Embellisher of Nature (چمن طراز فطرت) and recommends to one Khān Bahādur Mīān La'l Muḥammad, a relative of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, and says that Ḥimmat had written a nice Qaṣīda, in the style of Ṯālib Amlī —the poet-laureate of Jahāngīr.

1. Rasā says that the fight took place on the 7th of the Ṣafar, but does not mention the year. At folio 40-a he says that on the 9th of the same Ṣafar Aurangzeb allowed Prince A'zam Shāh to make requests in the Darbār with the Bakhshīs. At folio 42-a a letter is dated Ḥasan Abdāl, the 21st Rajab 1086 A.H. Now we know Aurangzeb was in Ḥasan Abdāl in 1085 A.H. (vide Sāqī, Musta'id Khān, *Ma'āṣir-e-Ālamgīrī* and Bedil too left Dehlī, in 1085 A.H., for Lahore, and from there proceeded to Ḥasan Abdāl.

2. 'Abdul Jabbār Khān *Taẕkira-e-Maḥbūbuz Zamān*, II, p. 1014.

3. 'Alī Ḥasan Khān, *Subḥ-e-Gulshan*, p. 34; Springer, I, p. 118; Sarkhush, *Kalimātush Shuarā*, p. 8; Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 42.

4. Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mira'ātul Khayāl*, p. 391.

5. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, pp. 23, 28, 45, 59; Qudratullah Qāsim, *Majmū'a-e-Naghz*, II, p. 179; Khushgū, in *Ma'arif*, May 1942, p. 373.

6. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, p. 59; Sarkhush, *Kalimātush Shu'arā*, p. 10; Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 141.

7. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, pp. 58, 82; Sarkhush, *Kalimātush Shu'arā*, pp. 125; Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 44.

23. *Maulvī Muhammad Sa'īd I'jāz Akbarābādī*[1] (d. 1117/1705) was a pupil of Shaikh 'Abdul 'Azīz 'Izzat and had meetings with Bedil and other poets of his day. I'jāz used to write ghazals imitating the metre and rhyme of the ghazals of those poets.

24. *Nawāb Husain Qulī Khān*,[2] *Khān Daurān*, was a poet who used to send his ghazals to Bedil for correction. He was a friend of Bedil and, when he was in the Deccan, Bedil pined for a meeting with him. Bedil, therefore, was much pleased on the Nawāb's return to Akbarābād. Once Bedil sent his works to the Nawāb, and at another time praised him for his success in copying his (Bedil's) style. But as the Nawāb's language was not so elegant on occasions, Bedil advised him to study his (Bedil's) prose and verse regularly to acquire the desired elegance of expression. The Dīwān of the Nawāb was with Bedil, and a few verses which the Nawāb had sent for correction were included in it. Bedil, after having gone through the Dīwān completely, asked the Nawāb to give it to the scribe for transcription.

25. Last but not the least, I would mention Walī Deccanī who has been regarded as the Father of Urdu verse. He paid a visit[3] to Dehlī in 1112 A.H. (1700 A.D.) and recited his Urdu ghazals there. It has not been recorded by any Tazkira-writer that Walī saw Bedil, but it is a fact that Walī was much influenced[4] by Sa'duallah Gulshan, a close friend of Bedil, and he, therefore, must have at least known Walī. The author of *Tūr-e-Kalīm* says that, when in 1133 A.H. (1720 A.D.) Walī's Urdu Dīwān reached Dehlī, poets like Mīr Mu'iz Mūsvī Khān Fitrat, Mīrzā 'Abdul Qādir Bedil, and Mīrzā 'Abdul Ghanī Beg Qabūl imitated[5] it. This assertion appears to be based on conjecture, for Bedil was in Lahore from 1131 to 1133 A.H., and returned to Dehlī in Muharram 1133 A.H., only to die a few days later. It is, therefore, obvious that Bedil found no time to imitate Walī in 1133 A.H. In my opinion, the arrival of Walī himself in Dehlī, and the common[6] trend of the poets of those days to compose verses in Urdu occasionally, induced Bedil to write a few couplets in Urdu also. Hence the earliest Tazkira-writers of Urdu give the following three

1. Sarkhush, *Kalimātush Shu'arā*, p. 6; Husain Qulī Khān, *Nishtar-e-'Ishq*, Ms. f. 121b.

2. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, pp. 94, 104, 111, 117, 118, 120. *Ma'āsirul Umarā*, *Ma'āsir-e-'Ālamgīrī*, *Muntakhabāl Lubāb*, *Khazāna-e-'Āmira*, or any other contemporary History Book makes no mention of Husain Qulī Khān.

3. *Kulliyāt-e-Walī*, 12, Preface.

4. Ibid.

5. Nūrul Hasan, *Tūr-e-Kalīm*, p. 3.

6. Mīr Ja'ar Zatallī, Anand Rām Mukhlis, Khān Ārzū, Nawāb Amīr Khān Anjām, Shāh-e-Fasīh Afsah and other friends and pupils of Bedil composed verses in Urdu. It may be noted that Zatallī was killed in the beginning of the

couplets[1] by Bedil :

شہرۂ حسن سے از بسکہ وہ محجوب ہوا
اپنے چہرہ سے جھگڑتا ہے کہ کیوں خوب ہوا

———

مت پوچھ دل کی باتیں وہ دل کہاں ہے ہم ہیں
اس تخم بے نشاں کا حاصل کہاں ہے ہم ہیں
جب دل کے آستاں پر عشق آن کر پکارا
پردے سے یار بولا بیدل کہاں ہے ہم ہیں

[The beloved fights shy on account of the fame of her beauty.
She is angry with her face, why it is so lovely.

———

Don't make queries about the heart. Not that, but I myself am here.
That untraceable seed has no fruit. Only I am here.
When Love called out at the altar of heart,
The Beloved cried out of the veil, "Not Bedil, but I am here."]

From what we have so far said about Bedil's stay in Dehlī, one can easily learn how he was leading his life there. Still there are other details which must be known to form a clearer picture of his life in the capital. We are indebted for them to Khushgu,[2] to Sayyid Muḥammad,[3] son of Mīr 'Abdul Jalīl Wāsṭī (who, with his father, had meetings with Bedil), and to Bedil[4] himself.

Bedil usually remained indoors for the whole of the day composing verses and studying books. In the evening he used to come out in his Dīwān Khāna (Drawing Room), where his pupils, his friends, and other visitors gathered round him. The meetings always continued till midnight, and Bedil used to relate significant anecdotes and worthwhile experiences in those meetings. In the course of such like talks he would say, "Let us now commence the praises of God." He would then take his *Kulliyāt* which had four hemistitches in one line,

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reign of Farrukh Siyar when the *Dīwān of Walī* had not yet arrived in Dehlī. See 'Alī Luṭf, *Gulshan-e-Hind*, p. 30 ; Gardezī, Fateḥ 'Alī Ḥusainī, *Tażkira-e-Rekhta Goyān*, p. 2 ; Mīr, *Nikatush Shu'arā*, pp. 4, 5, 9, 32.

1. Mīr Ḥasan, *Tażkira-e-Shu'arā-e-Urdu*, p. 59. Mīr Taqī Mīr, *Nikātush Shu'arā*, pp. 2, 3. Qāim, Qudratullah, *Makhzan-e-Nikāt*, p. 13. Shafīq, Lachhmī Nārain' *Chamanistān-e-Shu'arā*, p. 44. Ṣafīr Bilgrāmī, *Tażkira-e-Jalwa-e-Khiżr*, p. 98. Ṣafīr Bilgrāmī says that he copied the first and the third couplets from a Biyāż of Sayyid Mūsa Kāẓim Bilgrāmī written 100 years before the date (1302 A.H.) of the composition of the *Jalwa-e-Khiżr*.

2. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, pp. 364, 365.

3. Muḥammad, Sayyid, *Tabṣiratun Nāẓirīn*, in *Jalwa-e-Khiżr*, p. 97.

4. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, pp. 59-60.

and would recite his verses. In the course of the recitations, all those present were addressed one by one. Although, ordinarily, he spoke very low, separating one word from the other, he recited poetry in a pronounced and majestic tone, which was burdensome for the audience, and was audible even in the street. Khushgū, of his own sweet will, wrote *Malfuẓāt*, in which he recorded what transpired in those informal but highly instructive meetings. Bedil had a servant named Maẓmūn about whom Khushgū wrote :

بیدل . که تخت گاه فصاحت مقام اوست   معنی کنیز او شد و مضمون غلام اوست

[Bedil, who sits on the throne of eloquence,
Has idea as his maid-servant, and meaning (مضمون) as his slave.]

Bedil used to ask Maẓmūn to prepare the Ḥuqqa for smoking and, whenever he gave an order, he spoke in a commanding tone, and knocked at the door although the servant was at hand.

Bedil was very particular about taking exercise. The number of his daily *biams* (sit-stand) reached four and often five thousand. While wrestling he used to pick up his rivals with his hands and then threw them down. As no man proved a match for him, he kept a strong horse with which he used to grapple on a high mound. Once Bedil was inclined towards a barber's son who, by chance, displayed undesirable behaviour. Bedil slapped him and the poor boy died instantaneously. On another occasion, Bedil's foot slipped. To keep himself erect, he suddenly took his hands to a wall which tumbled down. This shows he had the strength of a giant. The staff, which he carried in his hands, weighed thirtyfive seers and he had named it Bulas, which means a slender twig. One day he came out of his house with this 'slender twig' in hand. Shaikh Kabīr, who was one of Bedil's friends and who had been visiting him continuously for years, began to talk about it. Bedil said immediately in praise of his staff :

سنت الانبیاء - زینت الصلحاء - مونس الاعمی - مدد الضعفاء - دافع الاعدا -

[The tradition of the prophets ; the ornament of the pious ; the companion of the blind ; the helper of the weak ; and the terror for the enemies.]

He also added that to drive away the enemy one must have a strong staff.

Bedil was a voracious eater and in his youth he could eat seven or eight seers of food. In his old age, too, he ate two or three seers, which Khushgū saw with his own eyes. Khushgū says that when Bedil was young he tasted the forbidden drink, but in old age it did not suit his temperament. In *Chahār 'Unṣur* Bedil himself has described how he participated in a convivial meeting. Again, in *Chahār 'Unṣur*

(which is a book of confessions too), Bedil says that when he saw Shāh-e-Qāsim, in a dream in Akbarābād, he handled the flask of wine very reluctantly. This shows that his conscience then had so much abhorrence for wine that, even in his dreams, he would not touch it. Khushgū makes another assertion[1] too. He says that Bedil, in his old age, used Ḥashīsh-water during summer and called it *Maujī*, and replaced it by *Aujī*, during winter, which was an electuary of Ḥashīsh. Khushgū supports himself by the following couplet of Bedil :

شادم که فطرتم نیست تریاکئی تعین   وهمی که می فروشم بنگ است وگه‌گه است

[It is gratifying that I am not a regular opium-eater.
I have only fancy for *Bhang* (Ḥashīsh), and that too now and then.]

As Khushgū was a constant visitor of Bedil, we cannot declare his statements about intoxicants to be altogether wrong. This, too, has been stated by Khushgū that Bedil used slaked[2] red-orpiment (کشتهٔ زرنیخ).

There is still another phase of Bedil's life which needs some comments. At this time of his life, besides his wife (or four wives as Khushgū, says) Bedil's living relatives,[3] who are known to us were: Mīrzā 'Ibādullah, Mīrzā Rūḥullah, and Mīrzā Muḥammad Sa'īd. Mīrzā 'Ibādullah was a cousin from a maternal uncle, and as in a letter both Mīrzā 'Ibādullah and Mīrzā Rūḥullah have been addressed by Bedil as brothers, the latter also must have been similarly a cousin of Bedil. As regards Mīrzā Muḥammad Sa'īd, he was the son of Mīrzā 'Ibādullah and, therefore, the nephew of Bedil. From among the descendants of Mīrzā 'Ibādullah, the author of *Majmū'a-e-Naghz*, gives the names of two persons:[4] Ḥakīm Fazlullah, a poet, and Ḥakīm Muḥammad Ḥafīz Khān of Panipat. Beyond this, nothing is known about the relatives of Bedil.

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1. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 363.
2. Ibid., p. 362.
3. Ibid. Dargāh Qulī Khān, *Muraqqa'-e-Dehlī*, pp. 10-11. *Ruqq'at-e-Bedil*, pp. 23, 59. Qudratullah Qāsim, *Majmū'a-e-Naghz*, p. 179. Khushgū says that Mīrzā 'Ibādullah was a خال of Bedil, and Mīrzā Muḥammad Sa'īd was a son of Mīrzā 'Ibādullah. Bedil has twice addressed Mīrzā 'Ibādullah as a brother, and, from the language used, we learn he was older than Bedil. The author of *Majmū'a-e-Naghz* says that Mīrzā 'Ibādullah was the elder brother of Bedil. And Dargāh Qulī Khān says that Mīrzā Muḥammad Sa'īd was a nephew of Bedil. When everything is put together, we conclude that Mīrzā 'Ibādullah was a خال زاد (cousin) of Bedil, and, in the *Safīna-e-Khushgū* the scribe has erroneously written the word خال.
4. Qudratullah Qāsim, *Majmū'a-e-Naghz*, p. 179.

Having learnt about the daily routine and private life of Bedil, we should proceed further. In 1116 A.H. (1704-05 A.D.), Bedil finished[1] his *Chahār 'Unṣur* which he had been writing since 1095 A.H. (1683-84 A D). This book is a dependable source for Bedil's life till 1100 A.H. (1688-89 A.D.) and beyond this we have to rely on different Tazkiras, Bedil's *Ruqq'āt* and *Qiṭ'āt* and other contemporary History Books.

In 1118 A.H. (1707 A.D.), there was again a great upheaval in Hindustān. The Great Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr died[2] at Aḥmadnagar, in the Deccan, after a long reign of about fifty years, and at the climax of his power. A bloody war of succession soon ensued. Muḥammad Mu'azzam Bahādur Shāh, the second[3] son of Aurangzeb, was ultimately victorious. A'zam Shāh and Kām Bakhsh, the other two[4] living sons of Aurangzeb, were defeated[5] one after the other in battles. At one time, during the War of Succession, when Shukrullah Khān II, Shākir Khān, and Karamullah 'Āqil Khān, all the three sons of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān I, were arrayed in Akbarābād against A'zam Shāh, Bedil was very much perturbed[6] on their account ; and when they were victorious, naturally he heaved[7] a sigh of relief. But Bedil was very much grieved[8] at the sad death of A'zam Shāh and his son Bedār Bakht, in the battlefield of Jajau. The accession of Bahādur Shāh was, however, greeted[9] by Bedil in four chronograms, one of them being : معظم دو جہان.

In 1120 A.H., to the utmost joy of Bedil, he was blessed with a son[10] on the 1st of Rajab (Sept. 16, 1708), and on the night preceding Friday. The boy was named 'Abdul Khāliq. This happy occasion was

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1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Chahār 'Unṣur.* The chronogram is :

... دو تاریخ از حساب آورد بیرون　　که دخل شبه خول گشت و خطا رفت
نخست افسونی از اعجاز پرداخت　　که از افراد هر عنصر فنا رفت
.. دوم در اجتماع چار عنصر　　نحوست بود چون رنگ از صفا رفت

The numerical value of عنصر and فنا is 410 and 131 respectively. Subtract 131 from 410 and multiply the result by 4. We get 1116. Again, the total value of چار عنصر is 1640 (410×4). Subtract from it 524, the value of نحوست, and 1116 is the result. See Qārī, 'Abdullah Khān, *Adbīyāt*, p. 174.

2. Sāqī, *Ma'āsir-e-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 521.
3. Ibid., p. 534.
4. Ibid., pp. 596, 538.
5. Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhabāl Lubāb*, II, pp. 590, 621, 625.
6. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, p. 112.
7. Ibid., pp. 107-08.
8. Ibid., p. 114.
9. Ibid., pp. 107-08.
10. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 365.

celebrated[1] with festivities and rejoicings, and alms were liberally distributed to the poor. Bedil found out various chronograms,[2] and wrote letters of congratulations[3] to friends. In those days Nawāb Shukrullah Khān II had gone away[4] to the Deccan to subdue Prince Kām Bakhsh. The birth of his son had so much pleased Bedil that he communicated the happy news to the Nawāb in that distant country.

Bedil continued to add to his fame and popularity during the reign of Bahādur Shāh as well. The Emperor ordered[5] Mun'im Khān Khānān, his Minister, on many occasions to request Bedil for writing Shāhnāma of the Mughul Dynasty. Mun'im Khān had known Bedil since a long time, and, therefore, made the request some five or six times in writing, but Mīrzā Bedil refused. The final reply of the poet was very stern and determined. He said, "If the Emperor insists, I am a Faqīr, I cannot quarrel with him. I will leave his kingdom, and shall proceed to Walāyat (Bukhārā)."

The Emperor conferred the title of Khān Daurān Bahādur[6] on Chīn Qlīj Khān in 1119 A.H. (1708 A.D.) and appointed him the Ṣubedār of Oudh. Bedil, therefore, could now see him very often as he had come to stay nearer. Bedil wrote a magnificent Qaṣīda in praise of Khān Daurān[7] beginning with this verse :

فلک عمریست می نازد به دور شوکت و شانش
بیا تا وا نمایم اقتدار خان دورانش

[It is a long time since Destiny has been feeling proud about his dignity and splendour.
Come, so that I may disclose the power of Khān Daurān.]

As the title of Khān Daurān was conferred in 1119 A.H., this panegyric was composed when Bedil was over sixtyfive years of age. This fact shows that Bedil continued his creative activities unabated in spite of his old age. When in 1124 A.H. (1712-13 A.D.) Chīn Qlīj Khān's father,

1. *Khushgū*, in *Mā'arif*, May 1942, p. 366.

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Ṣafdarī Edition, *Qiṭ'āt*, p. 62. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Ms. Kitāb Khana-e-Ma'ārif, Kābul, f. 1103. *Anīs*, *Hadiya*, pp. 26-30. The chronograms are :
آدینه' اول شهررجب - مقبول فضل ایزدی - ذات‌حیا - فیاض بزرگ - سالک جاه عظیم - سرجوش شراب ازلی - ذات واحد - جاه ظهور - آئینه فیض قدس - انتخاب‌الله -

The last two remind us of the chronograms فیض قدس and انتخاب giving the date of birth of Bedil himself.

3. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, p. 128.

4. Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhabal Lubāb*, II, pp. 621, 625. Kām Bakhsh was defeated in Ḥaidarābād on 3rd Zilqa'da 1120 A.H. (January 14, 1709) and he succumbed to the wounds.

5. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942.

6. Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhabal Lubāb*, II, p. 582. Yūsuf Ḥusain, *Nizāmul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh*, p. 51.

7. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Ṣafdarī Edition, *Qiṭ'āt*, p. 43.

Ghāzī-ud-Dīn Bahādur, died,[1] Bedil wrote a Qiṭ'a[2] having the chronogram :

شاه باز عرش پرواز آه ازو

[The falcon, which could fly to the Empyrean,
We are sad for him.]

In this very year Chīn Qlij Khān was made Niẓāmul Mulk Bahādur Fateḥ Jang. His manṣab was raised to 7,000 infantry and 7,000 cavalry. He has been addressed by Bedil in letters as Khān Daurān[3] and also as Niẓāmul Mulk.[4]

One day in the house[5] of Niẓāmul Mulk, when perhaps he had retired[6] from life on account of the supremacy of Nawāb Zulifqār Khān in state affairs, Bedil found himself in a strange predicament. Muḥammad Amīn Khan, who later on became famous for arranging the murder of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān Bārha, came in and saw a Faqīr sitting with beard and moustaches entirely shaved. He enquired, "Who is this?" "Mīrzā Bedil," the Nawāb replied. Muḥammad Amīn Khān remarked, "Do you call this man a saint who shaves his beard?" At this Mīrzā Bedil warmed up and said, "I shave my own beard and do not scratch anybody's heart." Being inflamed, the Khān at once took his hand to his dagger. Bedil, who was a Hercules in strength, challenged the Khān with clenched fists. The Nawāb, however, intervened and saved the situation.

Bedil's relations with the sons of Nawāb Shurkullah also continued as sincere as ever. He wrote them letters and congratulated[7] them on their victories. Once he addressed the three brothers in one letter beginning with the following verses[8] of immortal value :

شکر امروز در بهار وفاق　　رنگ و بو و شگفتگی بهم اند
ای خدا فضل کن که این گلها　　همه لطف و عنایت و کرم اند

[Thank God that today, in the spring of concord,
Colour, smell, and freshness are found together,
O God, show graciousness as these flowers
Are all *Luṭf* (kindness), *'Ināyat* (favour), and *Karam* (generosity).]

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1. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Khazāna-e-'Āmira*, p. 35.
2. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Ms. Kitāb Khāna-e-Ma'ārif, Kābul, f. 1065.
3. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, p. 128.
4. Ibid., pp. 131, 133, 134, 136.
5. Ḥusain Dost, *Taẕkira-e-Ḥusainī*, p. 75. Qāsim, Qudratullah, *Majmū'a-e-Naghz*, p. 117.
6. Yūsuf Ḥusain, *Niẓāmul Mulk Āṣaf Jāh*, p. 51. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Khazāna-e-'Āmira*, p. 35.
7. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Ṣafdarī Edition, *Qiṭ'āt*, p. 45.
8. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, p. 74.

Even the children of the family had grown intimate with Bedil. Whenever[1] Bedil took up pen and paper for writing something, and Mīr Mubārakullah, son of Mīr Shākir Khān, was seated near, innocently the boy would snatch away the paper, at which Bedil's heart was filled with pleasure. When he was away, Bedil felt his absence and the boy's endearing ways were brought to his mind. At one time Mīr Karamullah was in straitened circumstances,[2] and Bedil gave him 200 gold coins, which had been presented to him by Nawāb Zulfiqār Khān. When in 1124 A.H. (1712 A.D.), Mīr Karamullah Khān died,[3] Bedil was extremely bereaved and he kept weeping for a long time. Mīr Karamullah Khān, we know, was a pupil of Bedil and wrote verse in Bedil's style. The Mīr left a Dīwān. Bedil once remarked[4] that Mīr Karamullah had excelled him in writing poetry.

Now I give below, again one by one, the names of those poets who came in contact with Bedil during the reign of Bahādur Shāh.

1. *Ni'mat Khān 'Ālī* (d. 1123/1711), the famous satirist of those days. Whenever 'Ālī's name was mentioned by Bedil, he invariably said[5] حاجی هجوی (Ḥājī, the satirist).

2. *Shaikh Ḥusain Shuhrat*[6] (d. 1149/1736) was a friend of Bedil, and was known to him since the time when both of them were together in the service of A'ẓam Shāh. Shuhrat used to compete with Bedil in versification.

3. *Ḥājī Muḥammad Aslam Sālim*[7] (d. 1119/1707) was a friend of Bedil, and used to write verse with him when both of them were in the service of A'ẓam Shāh. Sālim remained in the service of the Prince, and on his death arrived in Dehlī and met Bedil. During the whole of his life Bedil never made a search for Dīwān of any contemporary poet, but he arranged especially for Sālim's Dīwān, and kept it with him for a few days.

4. *Sayyid Ja'far Zaṭallī*, the famous ribald poet of Bedil's times. Zaṭallī was in the service of Prince Kām Bakhsh in the Deccan and was dismissed for writing obscene poetry about his master.[8] With the exception of Aurangzeb[9] and Bedil none escaped his

1. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, p. 125.
2. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 42.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., p. 45; Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, pp. 201-02.
7. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 44; Ṣiddīq Ḥasan, *Shama'-e-Anjuman*, p. 214.
8. Zaṭallī, Mīr Ja'far, *Kulliyāt-e-Zaṭalī*, pp. 29, 32. At page 24, he speaks about the reign of Bahādur Shāh.
9. Zaṭallī, *Kulliyāt* pp. 40, 43.

scurrilous remarks. One night[1] Zaṭallī went to see Bedil with a maṣnavī in his praise. But as soon as Zaṭallī had recited the first hemistitch :

چه عرفی چه فیضی به پیش تو بهش

['Urfī and Faiẓī are quite insignificant before you]

Bedil gave him two gold coins, and dismissed him saying, "Thank you. I am an ordinary Faqīr. Besides, I cannot bear such like remarks about master poets." Khushgū and others requested Bedil to let Zaṭallī recite the next hemistitch, so that it might be known how بهش was rhymed, but Bedil did not agree. On another occasion[2] Zaṭallī came to see Bedil when he was deeply absorbed in thought. Zaṭallī enquired what line had been composed. When Bedil told :

لاله بر سینه داغ چون دارد

[Why has the tulip a scar at its breast ?]

Zaṭallī said, in his characteristic ribald way, "Why so much deep thought ? Say :

چوبکی سبز زیر کون دارد

[As it has a small twig under its anus]."

5. *Mīr 'Aẓmatullah Bekhabar Bilgrāmī*[3] was a ṣūfī poet who frequently met Bedil. Once, as narrated by Bekhabar himself in his *Safīna*, Bedil recited his mystical verses only so long as Bekhabar was with him. Bekhabar praises Bedil for his good manners, elegant taste, and his zeal for mysticism.

6. *Mīr 'Abdul Jalīl Wasṭī Bilgrāmī*,[4] a ṣūfī poet. He and his son Sayyid Muḥammad had meetings with Bedil. To this line of Bedil

روز سوار شب کند اسپ چراغ پا

[The life of the rider is made miserable by the restive horse]

Mīr Wasṭī applied this پیش مصرع (first line) :

غره مشو که ابلق ایام رام تست

[Don't feel proud that the piebald horse of Time has been tamed by you].

On another occasion, when a talk was going on about the mysticism of Bedil, the Mīr inserted Sa'dī's famous hemistitch in his own verses :

دی کسی گفت میرزا بیدل — خوب گفت است در تصوف راز
مصرعی در جواب خواند جلیل — بیدل از بی نشان چه گوید باز

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1. Mīr Taqī Mīr, *Nikātush Shu'arā*, p. 32 ; Qāim, Qiāmud Dīn, *Makhzan-e-Nikāt*, p. 13 ; Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 366.

2. Mīr Ḥasan, *Tażkira-e-Shu'arā*, p. 72.

3. Ṣafīr Bilgrāmī, *Tażkira-e-Jalwa-e-Khiẓr*, p. 96, *footnote* ; Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, 315 ; Bekhabar, 'Aẓmatullah, *Safīna-e-Bekhabar*, Ms. f.

4. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 253 ; Ṣafīr Bilgrāmī, *Tażkira-e-Jalwa-e-Khiẓr*, p. 97 ; 'Askrī, Muḥammad, *Durarul Manṣūr*, Ms., f. 35.

[Yesterday someone said that Bedil
Has beautifully explained the secrets of mysticism.
Jalīl recited a hemistitch in reply,
"How can Bedil tell about the Inscrutable."]

7. *Sayyid Ja'far Rūhī*[1] (d. 1154/1731) came to Shāh Jahānābād during the reign of Shāh 'Ālam and met Bedil.

8. *Rami*[2] was a Hindu pupil of Bedil.

9. *'Umdatul Mulk Nawāb Amīr Khān Anjām*[3] (d. 1159/1746) was one of the pupils of Bedil.

10. *Hāfiz Muhammad Jamāl Talāsh*[4] (d. 1127/1715) was a pupil of Bedil and adopted the takhalius on his suggestion. He was seen with Bedil in the reign of Shāh 'Ālam. Bedil appreciated this couplet of Talāsh :

بروز عید هر شاه و گدا گم می کند خود را
تو رفتی بر مسند ناز و من از خویشتن رفتم

11. *Mīrzā Suhrāb Raunaq* [5] Bedil recommended him to Mīrzā Na'īm, the Bakhshī of Bahādur Shāh, and remarked that Mīrzā Suhrāb Raunaq wrote elegant prose and fluent verse.

12. *Qayyūm Khān Fidāī*,[6] son of 'Āqil Khān Rāzī, was a poet and sent his verse for correction to Bedil.

13. *Mun'im Khān Mun'im*,[7] the prime minister of Bahādur Shāh 'Ālam, and the author of *Ilhānāt-e-Mun'imī*, *Makāshfāt-e-Mun'imī*, etc. He was a friend of Bedil. It was he who requested Bedil, on behalf of Bahādur Shah, to write the Shahnāma of the Mughuls.

With his old and new pupils, friends, and acquaintances, Bedil was enjoying life when his dearly loved son 'Abdul Khāliq, who now walked holding his father's fingers in his hand, died[8] on the morning of 9th of Rabī' II, 1123 A.H. (May 15, 1711) at the age of 2 years, 9 months, and 8 days. Khushgū says that Bedil displayed unusual self-composure[9] at that time. With a perfectly composed state of mind, Bedil made arrangements for the burial of the dead body of his only son, and accompanied the bier up to the door. People came for condolence and wept bitterly, but he would silence them by saying, "Friends, how strange! It is my son who has died, why should you people weep?"

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1. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, 207 ; Ṣiddīq Ḥasan, *Shama'-e-Anjuman*, 175.
2. Ṣafīr Bilgrāmī, *Tazkira-e-Jalwa-e-Khizr*, 97.
3. 'Alī Ḥasan Khān, *Bazm-e-Sakhun*, 18 ; Muṣḥafī, *'Iqd-e-surrayyā*, 9 ; Gardezi, *Tazkira-e-Rekhta Goyān*, 2.
4. 'Alī Ḥasan Khān, *Subh-e-Gulshan*, 90 ; Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 46.
5. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, p 66.
6. Ibid., pp. 5, 111.
7. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 42 ; Ghulām Ḥusain, *Siyarul Mutaakhkhirīn*, p 8.
8. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Safdari Edition, *Qiṭ'āt*, p. 62.
9. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, pp. 366, 367.



هرگه دو قدم خرام میکاشت   از انگشتم عصا بکف داشت
یارب چه علم بوحشت افراشت؟   دست از دستم چگونه برداشت؟
بی من بره' عدم چسان رفت ؟

AN IMAGINARY PORTRAIT OF BEDIL IN THE LIGHT OF THE HEART-RENDING ELEGY HE WROTE ON THE DEATH OF HIS ONLY SON 'ABDUL KHALIQ.—(COURTESY—HADIYA, KABUL)

Although Bedil bore this grief with apparent tranquillity, the overpowering anguish, he felt on the occasion, can best be imagined by a perusal of the incomparable heart-rending elegy[1] which Bedil wrote on the death of his son. Only two بند (stanzas) out of the eighteen بند of the مخمس are given here :[2]

هیهات چه برق پرفشان رفت   کاشوب قیامتم بجان رفت
گرتا بی بود ور توان رفت   طفلم ازین کهنه خاکندان رفت
بازی بازی بر آسمان رفت
هرگه دو قدم خرام می کاشت   از انگشتم عصا بکف داشت
یارب چه علم بوحشت افراشت   دست از دستم چگونه برداشت
بی من به ره عدم چسان رفت

[Alas ! What lightning has struck.
The grief of the Doomsday has afflicted my soul.
Whatever strength I had, has gone.
My child has left this world.
In a playful manner he went to the skies.
Whenever he walked a few paces,
He held my finger like a staff in his hands for support.
O God ! What a standard has been held aloft terribly.
Why did he take away his hand from my hands ?
How without me did he make the journey to the next world.]

There was yet another cataclysm which shook the foundations of the Empire. On 19th Muḥarram, 1124 A.H. (Febrruray 27, 1712) Bahādur Shāh, the Emperor, died suddenly at Lahore and his son Mu'izzud Dīn Jahāndār Shāh succeeded to the Peacock Throne after killing his three brothers in battles near Lahore.[3] The enthronement

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Ms., Kitāb Khāna-e-Ma'ārif, Kābul, f. 1088. *Hadiya-e-Arif*, pp. 24-25. At page 27 of *Hadiya* and folio 1100 of this *Kulliyat* quatrains have been given which Bedil wrote on the occasion when his son was suffering from small-pox. In the beginning he said :

هرجا اثر آبله کردست غلو   معراج جمال گشته در خاک فرو
یارب از آفتش تو امان ده همه را   کاین شکل نزند درخورپاست نه رو

[Wherever the poxes have thronged,
Beauty has completely vanished.
O God, save everyone from this danger.
This hateful blister is fit for the feet not for the face.]

And when the disease grew worse he wrote

ای چرخ بحق جوش این میخانه   یعنی بخروش عاقل و دیوانه
بیرون نبری ز انجمن شمع مرا   آتش نزنی بخانهٔ پروانه

[O Fate, in view of the excitement in this tavern,
That is having regard to the lamentations of the wise and the mad,
Do not take my lamp out of the assembly, and
Do not set a moth's dwelling on fire.]

2. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, pp. 366-67.

3. Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhkhabal Lubāb*, II, pp. 685-89. Ghulām Ḥusain, *Siyarul Mutakhkhirin*, pp. 8-12.

of the new Emperor was acclaimed by Bedil in a grand[1] poem of which only the concluding verse, bearing four choice chronograms, is given below :

نص شرف شاه زمان نجم‌الہدی فیاض ملک
کشور کشا موسے عصا گیتی ستان وجم نگیں

[The text of nobility, the Lord of Time, the Guiding Star, realm bestowing,
World conquering, having a staff like Moses, world reducing, and with a ring like that of Jamshed.]

During Jahāndār Shāh's brief reign also Bedil commanded the same respect and popularity as before. We find Nawāb Zulifqār Khān, the Wazīr of Jahāndār Shāh sending apples and pomegranates to Bedil from Lahore, for which favour the poet thanked him in a Qiṭ'a.[2] But the reign of Jahāndār Shāh was marked by licentiousness[3]. The Emperor showed boundless partiality for his concubine, Lal Kanwar, and her relatives, who were all musicians. Bedil soon got disgusted and wrote two[4] poems describing the shamelessness and immorality of those days, and in one of them he prophesied :

دور بی غیرت ندارد امتداد سال و ماه

[The shameless epoch cannot continue for years or months.]

The scales soon turned against Jahāndār Shāh, and on 15th Zul-Ḥaj 1124 A.H. (January 13, 1713) he was defeated by his nephew Farrukh Siyar (son of 'Aẓīmush Shān) and was finally strangled to death. As the new Emperor had got the crown with the help of 'Abdullah Ḥasan 'Alī Khān and Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, the renowned Barha Sayyid brothers, the former was made the Chief Minister, and the latter Amīrul Umarā.[5]

It was now the year 1124 A.H. (1713 A.D.) and from Bedil's point of view as an author, the year was very important, because in this year he finished[6] his mystical Maṡnavī *'Irfān*, which, Khushgū says,[7] Bedil had begun about thirty years before. In a letter[8] to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān I, Bedil himself had intimated that both the

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Ms. (Kitāb Khāna-e-Ma'ārif, Kābul), f. 1045.
2. Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhabal Lubāb*, II, p. 685.
3. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Ms. (Kitāb Khāna-e-Ma'ārif, Kabul), f. 1031, and f. 1042.
4. Ghulām Ḥusain, *Siyarul Mutaakhkhirīn*, pp. 15-18; Khāfī Khāfī, *Muntakhabal Lubāb*, II, pp. 715-28.
5. Ibid.
6. Qārī, 'Abdullah Khān, *Adabīyāt*, p. 174; *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Ṣafdarī Edition, *'Irfān*. The chronogram is : هدیۂ ذوالجلال والاکرام.
7. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 375.
8. *Ruq'āt-e-Bedil*, p. 69.

'Irfān and the *Chahār 'Unṣur* were being written simultaneously. We know *Chahār 'Unṣur* was begun in or about 1095 A.H., and if Khushgū's statement is kept in view, we can say, *'Irfān* was commenced in 1094 A.H. (1682-83 A.D.).

During the present regime also, Bedil's star was in ascendant. The Emperor, Muhammad Farrukh Siyar, at first inquired[1] about Bedil's health, and, on discovering that he would not seek an audience, the Emperor granted the poet Rs. 2,000 and one elephant. The money reached Bedil but, as none of his agents went to bring the elephant, the greedy imperial servants took it to their own use. Shād 'Azimābādi writes[2] in his *Nawā-e-Waṭan* that. the Emperor, Farrukh Siyar, copied Bedil's verses with his own hand in his anthology, and many times quoted Bedil in his letters and orders. Bedil, too, highly esteemed these regards of the Emperor and in a fragment[3] congratulated him on his marriage and praised him for his justice. Quṭbul Mulk Sayyid 'Abdullah Khān Barha, the Chief Minister of Farrukh Siyyar, who had the Manṣab[4] of 7,000 infantry and 7,000 cavalry, twice or thrice sent for Bedil, and, as soon as he saw Bedil arrive, he used to leave his chair and run forward to receive the poet-saint. He would then embrace Bedil and would also leave his Maṣnab for him.[5]

Amīrul Umarā Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, the younger Barha brother, who possessed great energy and resolution, had been on good terms with Bedil since a long time, and used to send his verses to him for correction.[6] One day[7] the Amīrul Umarā was riding through the bazar and Bedil also was going to some place. The Amīrul Umarā could not recognise Bedil, as he had shaved his beard and moustaches, and was wearing on his head the Susi cloth,[8] which he sometimes used instead of a turban. Mīrzā Bedil also could not greet him on account of inattention. When the Amīrul Umarā got sure that it was no other than Bedil, he went to the poet's house, and took him away in a palanquin to his own residence. There he kept Bedil with him for two or three days, and gained much in his company. At the time of departure, the Amīrul Umarā made a present of Rs. 3,00,000 in cash

1. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 367.
2. Shād 'Azimābādi, *Nawā-e-Waṭan*, p. 72.
3. *Kulīyāt-e-Bedil*, Mss., Ma'ārif Library, Kābul, f. 1036. The opening verse is :
   شه فرخ سیر خورشید تحقیق جهان معدلت معراج آداب
4. Khāfī Khān, Muntakhabal Lubāb, II, p. 728.
5. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 367.
6. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, p. 78.
7. Qāsim, *Majmua-e-Naghz*, p. 117.
8. A sacred thin-lined, chequered cloth from Susa a village in Africa. The value of the cloth was 10 Dinar. See Yazdī, Niẓāmud-Dīn Mahmūd, *Dīwān-e-Albisa*, p. 201. Yāqūt, *Mu'jamul Buldān*, V, p. 173.

and kind to Bedil which he was good enough to accept. But after a while, to maintain the honour of his *Faqr* (mysticism), very wisely Bedil said to the Amīrul Umarā, "You know there is no room for these rich gifts in my humble cottage. I cannot find a depository for them better depositoy than your good-self. I, therefore, entrust everything to your care. Whenever I shall need them, I will request you for their return." Moreover, when the Amīrul Umarā was in the Deccan as viceroy, Mīrzā Bedil wrote to him a letter and made the following inquiries[1] in a charming manner :

ای نشهٔ پیمانه قدرت بچه کاری ؟ مست اثری یا پی تاراج خماری ؟
می در قدحی گل بسری جام بد ستی رنگ چمنی موج گلی جوش بهاری

[O, the ebriety of Nature's cup! how do you do?
Are you intoxicated with drink or after removing crop-sickness?
Have you wine in the cup, flowers on the head, and cup in the hand?
Are you the hue of the garden, a garland of flowers, or the bloom of the spring?]

An incident pertaining to Mīr Jumla, whose original name was Qāẓī 'Abdullah Tūrānī, and who was a great confidant of Farrukh Siyar and held the Manṣab of 7,000 infantry and 7,000 cavalry,[2] has also been related. One day a scribe of Bedil came to him after seeing Mīr Jumla Tarkhān.[3] The scribe said, "Just now Mīr Jumla was saying that he had today seen Mīrza Bedil, whom Quṭbul Mulk Sayyid 'Abdullah Khān had invited several times. Mīrzā Bedil, he added, appears to be a perfect man, but he has a defect ; and then pointed to the beard and the moustaches." On hearing this, Bedil said, "Indeed, only a handful of hair, which he possesses and I do not, makes us differ," and then he recited his verse :

بروت تافتنت گر به شانه' هوس است   بریش سرده شدن بزگمانه' هوس است

As Bedil's fame as a poet had spread abroad, more and more pupils were coming to him. Many new poets, other than those mentioned above, eagerly sought Bedil's company. A brief and available account of all such lovers of poetry is given below.

1. *Anand Rām Mukhliṣ*[4] (1111-1164 A.H.) was a learned Hindu

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1. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 149 ; *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Ṣafdarī Edition, *Qiṭ'āt*, p. 54.
2. Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhabal Lubāb*, II, pp. 728-29.
3. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May. 1942, p. 365.
4. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Khazāna-e-'Āmira*, p. 425 ; Mukhliṣ, *A Page by Him in the Library of Maulānā Muḥammad Shafī*, f. 1 ; Mukhliṣ, *Chamnistān*, p. 68 ; Mīr Taqī, *Nikātush Shu'arā*, p. 8 ; Muṣhafī *'Iqd-e-Surayyā*, p. 53 ; Ṣabāhud Dīn, *Bazm-e-Timurīya*, pp. 310-13.

and author of several works. In his youth he was a pupil of Bedil, and for a long time he got his verses corrected by him. Bedil granted an autograph copy of his Dīwān to Mukhliṣ. It has also been stated by Mukhliṣ that the last leaf of the Dīwān contained a portrait of Bedil.

2. *Muhammad Ahsan Sāmi'*[1] 'of Dehlī was a pupil of Bedil; but on his death became the pupil of Shaikh Ḥusain Shuhrat and entirely forgot what he owed to Bedil.

3. *Gul Muhammad Ma'nīyāb* (معنی یاب) *Khān Shā'ir*[2] (d. 1157/1744) distinguished himself amongst the pupils of Bedil. After the death of Bedil, Shā'ir was the most prominent poet in Shāh Jahānābād. Bedil loved him very much and granted him a sword and a staff which he kept with him for a long time.

4. *Shāh-e-Faṣīḥ Afṣaḥ*[3] (d. 1192/1778). He was a pupil of Bedil. His Persian Dīwān smacks of mysticism like that of his teacher.

5. *Mīrzā Muhsin Ẓulqadr*[4] (d. in the reign of Farrukh Siyar). This poet used to compete with Bedil in versifying since his childhood. Mīrzā Muhsin was originally in the service of Prince Shujā', son of Shāh Jahān. Khushgū saw this poet in his extreme old age, when he was over ninety, in the company of Bedil. It means Bedil saw this poet in Patna, when Shujā' was making preparations for winning the crown for himself, and when Bedil also happened to be with the army of Shujā'.

6. *Mīrzā Mubārakullah Irādat Khān Wāẓiḥ*[5] (d. 1128/1715-16) was a pupil of Bedil. Anand Rām Mukhliṣ saw him with Bedil during the reign of Farrukh Siyar.

7. *Sirājud Dīn 'Alī Khān Ārzū*[6] himself says that he saw Bedil twice in the beginning of the reign of Farrukh Siyyar. He admits that he derived much benefit in Bedil's company. Dargāh Qulī Khān says that Khān Ārzū called himself a pupil of Bedil.

8. *Mīr Abul Faiẓ Mast*[7] used to get his verses corrected by Bedil. After the death of Bedil he became a pupil of Shaikh Ḥusain Shuhrat.

9. *Mīr Muhammad Hāshim Jur'āt Mūsvī Khān*[8] was in the service

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1. Sprenger, I, p. 156; Ṣiddiq Ḥasan, *Roz-e-Raushan*, p. 284; Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 45.

2. Ṣiddiq Ḥasan, *Shama'-e-Anjuman*, p. 233; Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 23?; Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 45.

3. Sprenger, I, p. 197; 'Alī Luṭf Mīrzā, *Gulshan-e-Hind*, p. 30; Mīr Ḥasan, *Taẕkira-e Shu'arā-e-Urdū*, p. 153.

4. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 45; Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mir'ātul Khayāl*, p. 417.

5. Mukhliṣ, Anand Rām. *Mir'ātul Iṣṭilāḥ*, Ms., f. 122-A; *Qatīl*, *Chahār Sharbat*, p. 67; Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, pp. 146-47.

6. Khān Ārzū, *Majma'un Nafāis*, Ms., f. 56-A; Dargāh Qulī Khān, *Muraqqa'-e-Dehlī*, pp. 44-45.

7. 'Alī Ḥasan, *Subḥ-e-Gulshan*, pp. 402-03.

8. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 237; Ṣiddiq Ḥasan, *Shama'-e-Anjuman* p. 107.

of Amirul Umarā Ḥusain 'Alī Khān and came with him from the Deccan to Dehlī in 1131 A.H. (1718-19 A.D.). On that occasion he met Mīrzā Bedil and Mīr 'Abdul Jalīl Wāsṭī Bilgrāmī.

10. *Nāẓim Khān*,[1] the author of *Tārīkh Farrukh Shāhī*, died in the beginning of the reign of Muhammad Shāh. Once he invited Bedil to dinner. In the course of table-talk, Nāẓim Khān told Mīrzā Bedil that in the following verse he had employed too fresh a colloquialism :

تو نگری که دم از فقرمی زند غلط است به موی' کاسهٔ چینی نمدنمی بافند

[The rich man, who talks of mysticism, is false, because
A rug is not woven out of the hair appearing in porcelain.]

Mīrzā Bedil replied that he was not such a fool as not to understand the taunt implied. The Khān said again that the colloquialism in question had undoubtedly been invented by Bedil. At this Bedil said, "From amongst the classical poets, whom would you regard a better authority than 'Asjadī, Farrukhī, Mu'izzī, Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān, Khwāja Salmān and other master poets, all of whom use the idiom نمد بافی ? " Nāẓim Khān was surprised and ejaculated, " By God, one, who has misgivings about Bedil's mastery of the language, is indeed an infidel." Nāẓim Khān thenceforward always had great respect for Bedil. Khushgū says that everyone who, like Nāẓim Khān, raised objections about the authenticity of the idioms used by Bedil, was similarly silenced by him during his lifetime. On the other hand, Khushgū adds, Shāh Sa'dullah Gulshan often remarked that Bedil's rank in the literary world was so high that after a century or two the literateurs and philologists would quote Bedil as an authority.

I have so far given an account of those poets only about whom there are hints or unambiguous assertions to the effect that they came in contact with Bedil at some definite period of his life. There is, nevertheless, quite a good number of such poets, both pupils and friends about whom the Tazkira-writers do not give sufficient details, and I, therefore, cannot say definitely when they had intercourse with Bedil. These are[2] Mīr Muḥammad 'Alī Rāij (d.1159/1737) of Siālkot, Ḥakīm Chand Nudrat of Lahore, Amānat Rām Amānat, Mehr 'Alī Bekas (a Qāẓīzāda of Mathura),[3] Mīr Muḥammad Ashraf Ḥasrat (an intelligent poet amongst the pupils of Bedil), Sayyid Abul Faiẓ Ma'nī of Shāh Jahānābād (a mystic poet), Srī Gopal Tamīz (d. 1147/1734), Sayyid Murtaẓa Qāni', Mīr Muḥammad

1. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 369 ; July 1942, p. 44.

2. Sprenger, I, pp. 113, 122, 158 ; Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, Juy, 1942, pp. 45-49 ; Ṣiddīq Ḥasan, *Shama'-e-'Anjuman*, p. 170 ; Alī Ḥasan, *Subḥ-e-Gulshan*, pp. 37, 74, 100, 195, 431, 512 ; Ṣiddīq Ḥasan, *Roz-e-Raushan*, pp. 136, 637 ; Ḥusain Dost, *Taẓkira-e-Husainī* p. 48 ; 'Abdul Jabbār Khān, *Taẓkira-e-Ma'būb-uz-Zamān*, II, p. 1014 ; Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Khazāna-e-'Āmira*, p. 245.

3. Perhaps Bekas met Bedil when he lived in Mathura.

Ma'sūm Wijdān, Muḥammad Panāh Kāmil (Qābil), 'Abdul 'Azīz Ījād (perhaps alive till 1136/1723), Mirzā Nādir-uz-Zamān Faṣīḥ, and 'Iṣmatullah Qābil. Ghulām Nabī ('Abdullah ?) Waḥdat[1] was a contemporary of Bedil and followed him in writing prose and verse. Khwāja 'Abdullah Samī'[2] (d. 1150/1737) belonged to Lahore and had meetings with Bedil in Shāh Jahānābād. Mīr Razī Waḥdat was a friend of Bedil and once sent him a ḥuqqa.[3] And Qāzī 'Abdur Raḥīm once wrote prose and verse in praise of Bedil and Bedil thanked[4] him in a letter. The Qāzī Ṣāḥib appears to be the illustrious father of Shāh Walīullah of Dehlī.

We have seen how the poets, the nobles having the Manṣab of 7,000, and even the Emperors paid homage to our poet. Rarely would a genius command so much respect in his lifetime. The secret of all this lies, in the words[5] of Khushgū, in Bedil's versatility, good manners, magnanimity, balanced temperament, cheerfulness, keenness of intellect, quickness of understanding, his noble etiquette, his superiority as a conversationalist, his generous dealings with others, and other virtues. His attainments as a scholar and as a poet, which have again been counted[6] by Khushgū, contributed towards this greatness. Bedil was interested in Metaphysics, Mathematics, and Natural Sciences. He was well acquainted with the science of Medicine, Astrology, Geomancy (رمل), Arithmancy (جفر), History, and Music. He knew the whole story of *Mahābhārat* by heart. His epistolary style was unequalled, of which his *Ruqq'āt* are the best specimen. His qualities as a prose-writer are self-evident. Moreover, he was such a fertile and prolific writer that he could compose 500 verses in a day.

Above all, Bedil's contemporaries were very much impressed by his mysticism. Khushgū says that Bedil had not only a thorough knowledge of mysticism but also practised it completely, and in this respect he was the Junaid and Bāyazīd of his time. Khushgū adds that most of the problems of mysticism, which Rūmī expressed in his *Masnāvī* and Ibn al-'Arabī in his *Fuṣūṣ*, were stated again by Bedil, most lucidly and with fresh similes; and Bedil's regard for the Unity of God was so intense that, even while abusing others, he did not let the string of Unity slip from his hands.[7] Mukhliṣ calls Bedil a perfect gnostic and says that Bedil regarded mystical knowlege

1. Ṣiddīq Ḥasan, *Roz-e-Raushan*, p. 753.
2. 'Alī Ḥasan, *Subḥ-e-Gulshan*, p. 195.
3. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, p. 47.
4. Ibid., p. 112. Also, Raḥīm Bakhsh, *Hayāt-e-Walī*, pp. 111, 113, 149.
5. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, pp. 370-71.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., p. 368.

as the best and profoundest of all sciences.[1] Sher Khān Lodhī, another contemporary, also euologises[2] Bedil for his mysticism. Similarly, Khān Ārzū, too, pays a warm tribute[3] to Bedil as a mystic poet. Even Muḥammad Afẓal Sarkhush, his rival, has said :[4]

بیدل در فقر و توکل بادشاه وقت خود است

> [Bedil is the sovereign of his time, in point of mysticism and trust in God.]

Also the nobles at the court regarded[5] Bedil as a saint. Thus Bedil had combined in his person numerous virtues and attainments, which surprised his contemporaries, whether high or low, and they were irresistibly drawn towards him.

Bedil's fame was not confined to Shāh Jahānābād only. Even in his lifetime it reached the farthest[6] corners of Hindustān, crossed the north-western border and reached Afghānistān and Central Asia, where it still persists. For some of the best and most authentic manuscript[7] copies of the works and Kullīyat of Bedil we have now to look to Kish (Shahr-e-Sabz), Bukhārā, and Kābul. In those countries many poets sprang up who took pride in imitating Bedil. In lands beyond the Oxus, Akmal Khuqandī, Adā Samarqandī, and Ṣādiq Munshī made themselves prominent[8] in this respect. In Afghānistān, 'Ājiz Afghān,[9] the court poet of Tīmūr Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī, copied the style of Bedil, in prose and verse, in form as well as in spirit, so thoroughly that he has been

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1. Mukhlis, *The Page Written in His Hand*, Mss. f. 1.
2. Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mir'ātul Khayāl*, p. 385.
3. Khān Ārzū, *Majma'un Nafāis*, Mss. f. 56.
4. Sarkhush, Muḥammad Afẓal, *Kalimātush Shu'arā*, p. 14, footnote.
5. For instance Niẓāmul Mulk.
6. Muṣhafī Ghulām Hamdānī, *'Iqd-e-Surrayyā*, p. 16.
7. (a) *In Kābul Museum :*

Ms. No. 202, *Kullīyāt-e-Bedil*, copied in 1147 A.H. (only fourteen years after the death of Bedil) in Kish, Shahr-e-Sabz, by the scribe Muhammad Yūnus Khwāja, son of Bābā Khwāja Kishī.

Ms. No. 33, *Kullīyāt-e-Bedil*, copied in 1236 A.H. by Mullā 'Abdul Khāliq of Bukhāra. It has *Ruqq'āt*, *Muḥīṭ-e-A'ẓam*, *'Irfān*, *Fawāid-e-Khamoshī*, *Gudrī Nāma*, *Surma-e-I'tibār*, *Bahāristān-e-Janūn*, *Hujūm-e-Hairat*, *Naghmā-e-Waḥdat* and *Tilism-e-Hairat*. Because it gives the pamphlets separately, it is very important.

(b) *In Kitab Khāna-e-Ma'ārif, Kābul :*

Mss. No. 503/9, *Kullīyat-e-Bedil*, written in Kish in 1242 A.H. by 'Abdul Lutf.

Mss. No. 504/9, *Kullīyāt-Bedil*, written in Kābul in 1309 A.H. by Ghulām Husain scribe.

8. *Tuḥfatul Aḥbāb fī Tazkiratul Aṣḥāb*, pp. 116-17, 41-42, 162-64.
9. *Kābul Magazine*, August to November 1937 A.D.

called Bedil II. Similarly, we find Sardār Mehr Dil Khān Mashriqī[1] (1212-1271 A.H.) who was a notable poet from this point of view. The cause[2] of the popularity of Bedil, in Afghānistān and Transoxiana, are his mysticism, his dynamic philosophy of life and his perfect Indian style (سبک هندی).

Having considered in brief why Bedil was regarded by his contemporaries, within Hindustān and outside it, with the utmost esteem, love, and respect, we should now pass on to our narrative. Bedil was now a very old man. In a letter to someone in Bihār, while incidentally expressing his hidden love for that province, he wrote that his faculties had collapsed, and his senses had almost ceased to function on account of old age.[3] To Mīr Shākir Khān he wrote :[4]

در محاسبهٔ شمار انفاس غفلتی راه یافته که زندگیٔ بسر آمده مکرر به سلک اعاده پیوستن است یا قافلهٔ بیابان مرگ عمر راه مقصد عدم گم کرده که بدرقهٔ نفس را ناگزیرست بر تنگنائی دروازهٔ لب نشستن -

[In counting the (fixed) number of breaths, some mistake has occurred, and, therefore, the life, which had ended, has started anew. Or the caravan of age has lost the way to Non-existence and inevitably the escort of breath has stopped on the narrow passage of lips.]

These remarks about his extreme old age were made by Bedil when he was suffering from fever. He wrote :[5]

زبان نبض این تپ زده همچنان حرکت انشائی تپهٔ دعاست

[The tongue of the pulse of this feverish person moves continuously in prayer.]

In a letter[6] to Nizāmul Mulk, Bedil intimated that he had been suffering from dysentry for full three months ; and in a letter[7] to Shukrullah Khān II, he mentioned several other ailments, and also expressed his intense wish that the question of his life and death should be decided one way or the other. This repeated indisposition and these feelings of dejection and disgust foretold that Bedil's end was drawing near. He had shown his preparedness[8] for death even in 1123 A.H. (1711-12 A.D.) when in the courtyard of his house he raised a quadrangular mound for his tomb.

1. *Kābul Magazine*, November 1937 A.D.
2. Ibid, July 1937, pp. 91-98.
3. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, p. 138.
4. Ibid, p. 17.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid, p. 131.
7. Ibid, p. 132.
8. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 373.

On the one hand he had shown readiness and rather impatience to greet death cheerfully, and, on the other, he was anxious that his works, the fruit of his life-long labour, should have a safe voyage in the world. He got his Kulliyāt, comprising all of his works in prose and verse, and having in all 99,000 couplets, written[1] in his lifetime. It had four hemistitches in one line, and weighed fourteen seers.[2] When it was complete, it was weighed against precious metals and jewels which were given in charity. On that occasion Bedil said, "The Indians weigh their children against precious things and give alms to avert disaster. As Bedil's issues are only these works, he prays to God for their safety and hopes the prayer will be granted."

Bedil was in this way getting fully prepared for death when the political atmosphere darkened again. Relations between Farrukh Siyar, the Emperor, and his Chief Minister and the Amīr-ul-Umarā grew strained, because the claims of the Sayyid Brothers had become too preposterous to be acceded to by the Emperor, who however, tried several times to patch up the differences. Ultimately the Sayyid Brothers imprisoned Farrukh Siyar in the fort on 9th Rabī' II, 1131 A.H. (March 1, 1719). A needle was passed through his eyes, but it is reported he could still see. When two months later he tried to escape, he was strangled to death.[3] As Farrukh Siyar was very popular with the common people on account of his profuseness and liberality, there was deep and universal sorrow at his cruel end, and Bedil wrote the following bitter chronogram[5] on the occasion:

دیدی که چه با شاه گرامی کردند   صد جور و جفا زراه خامی کردند
تاریخ چو از خرد بجستم فرمود   سادات بوی نمک حرامی کردند

[Did you see how they behaved towards the noble Emperor?
They inflicted on him a hundred thousand cruelties on
account of folly.

When I asked Wisdom for the date, it replied,
'The Sayyids have been ungrateful to him.']

The chronogram was very apt, and, therefore, soon got wind. The political atmosphere being overcast with faithlessness, Bedil thought

1. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 374.

2. Husain Dost says in his *Tazkira-e-Husainī*, written in 1163 A.H., that the *Kulliyat* weighed eleven seers. Sarkhush said much earlier that he weighed the works of Bedil which were more than fifteen seers. Husain Dost, therefore, speaks of some *Kulliyāt* which did not contain all the works of Bedil. See *Tazkira-e-Husainī* pp. 74, 374; *Kalimātush Shu'āra*, p. 14.

3. Ghulām Husain, *Siyarul Muta'akhkhirīn*, pp. 20, 30-40; Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhabal Lubāb*, II, pp. 791-820.

4. Ghulām Husain, *Siyarul Mut'akhkhirīn*, p. 42.

5. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 149.

it advisable to seek refuge in some distant place. He fled to Lahore where Nawāb 'Abduṣ Ṣamad Khān, the Viceroy of the Panjāb, treated him with the utmost respect.[1]

In the meantime Rafī'ud Darajāt, and, at his sudden collapse, Rafī'ud Daula were crowned as Emperors. As Rafī'ud Daula, too, soon passed away, the King-maker Sayyid Brothers enthroned Roshan Akhtar, with the title of Muḥammad Shāh on 15th Zulqa'da 1131 A.H. (September 29, 1719). In the Deccan, Niẓāmul Mulk was adding to his power against Amīrul Umarā Ḥusain 'Alī Khān and was defying his orders. Amīrul Umarā, therefore, proceeded towards the Deccan, with Muḥammad Shāh, to chastise Niẓāmul Mulk but was killed in the way on 6th Zul Ḥijja, 1132 A.H. (October 9, 1720). Quṭbul Mulk made desperate efforts to retain his position and crowned another Emperor Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, but was defeated and then arrested and imprisoned.[2]

When the ascendancy of the Sayyids was no more, Bedil returned[3] to Shāh Jahānābād. As Ḥusain 'Alī Khān was killed in Zul Ḥijja 1132 A.H. (October 1720), Bedil must have returned there in Muḥarram 1133 A.H. (November 1720). As Bedil had gone to Lahore about the middle of 1131 A.H. (1719 A.D.), we can say that he was with Nawāb 'Abduṣ Ṣamad Khān for about a year and a half. On his return to Dehli, Bedil wrote[4] in a letter to Shukrullah Khān II :

واقعهٔ سرگذشت بیدل بیرون از تحریروتقریر است

[The adventure of Bedil baffles description.]

And in a letter to Niẓāmul Mulk, after expressing gratification at the removal of difficulties which surrounded the grand Nawāb, Bedil wrote[5] :

برین نفس پرور اشغال دعا نیز سانحهٔ غریبی پیش آمد اما گذشت آنچه گذشت

[This well-wisher also was placed in a trying position but let the past alone.]

These expressions definitely relate to Bedil's historic chronogram and his subsequent flight to Lahore. The wording points out that as the Sayyids tried to take revenge, Bedil sought refuge in flight. Bedil was, therefore, not unnecessarily afraid as Āzād Bilgrami implies[6] :

مرزا متوحش گردیده به لاهور رفت

[Mīrzā Bedil was afraid and went to Lahore]

1. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 149.

2. Ghulām Ḥusain, *Siyarul Muta'akhkhirīn*, pp. 41-46 ; Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhabal Lubāb*, II, pp. 816-933 ; Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Azād*, pp. 154-170 ; Rām (Bedil's pupil), *Majma'ut Tawārīkh*, Ms. The book deals with Farrukh Siyar and the Ṣayyids.

3. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 150 ; Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 372.

4. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 133.

5. Ibid., p.134.

6. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 149.

It was in the beginning of 1133 A.H. (1720 A.D.) that Niẓāmul Mulk established[1] himself in the Deccan, and he then invited Bedil to that Peninsula. But Bedil, who had throughout led a life of contentment, did not accept this invitation and wrote in reply[2]:

دنیا اگر دهند نه جنبم زجای خویش
من بسته ام حنای قناعت به پای خویش

[If they give me the entire world, I would not budge a jot from my place, for
I have applied the henna of contentment to my feet.]

This appears to be the last letter of Bedil, and it has not been included in the collection of his letters. After this his final illness seems to have overtaken him, and it appears that he had come from Lahore simply to die in Shāh Jahānābād.

He was down with typhoid fever[3] towards the end of Muḥarram 1133 A.H. (November 1720). After four or five days the fever disappeared, and, thinking that he had recovered, Bedil took a bath on the 2nd of Ṣafar 1133 A.H. (December 3, 1720). On Wednesday the 3rd of Ṣafar there was a relapse of fever which remained for the whole of the night. Nawāb Ghairat Khān Bāhādur,[4] Ṣalābat Jang, who was a friend of Bedil, was with him for the whole of that night. Sometimes Bedil swooned, and then came to himself. When he regained senses, he would burst into laughter involuntarily. The hopes of recovery waned at last, and at dawn the condition changed horribly. It[5] was Thursday, the 4th of Ṣafar 1133 A.H. (December 5, 1720 A.D.) when six *gharis* had passed after sunrise, that Bedil's soul winged its way to Heaven. His sacred remains were buried in the courtyard of his

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1. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, pp. 169, 176.

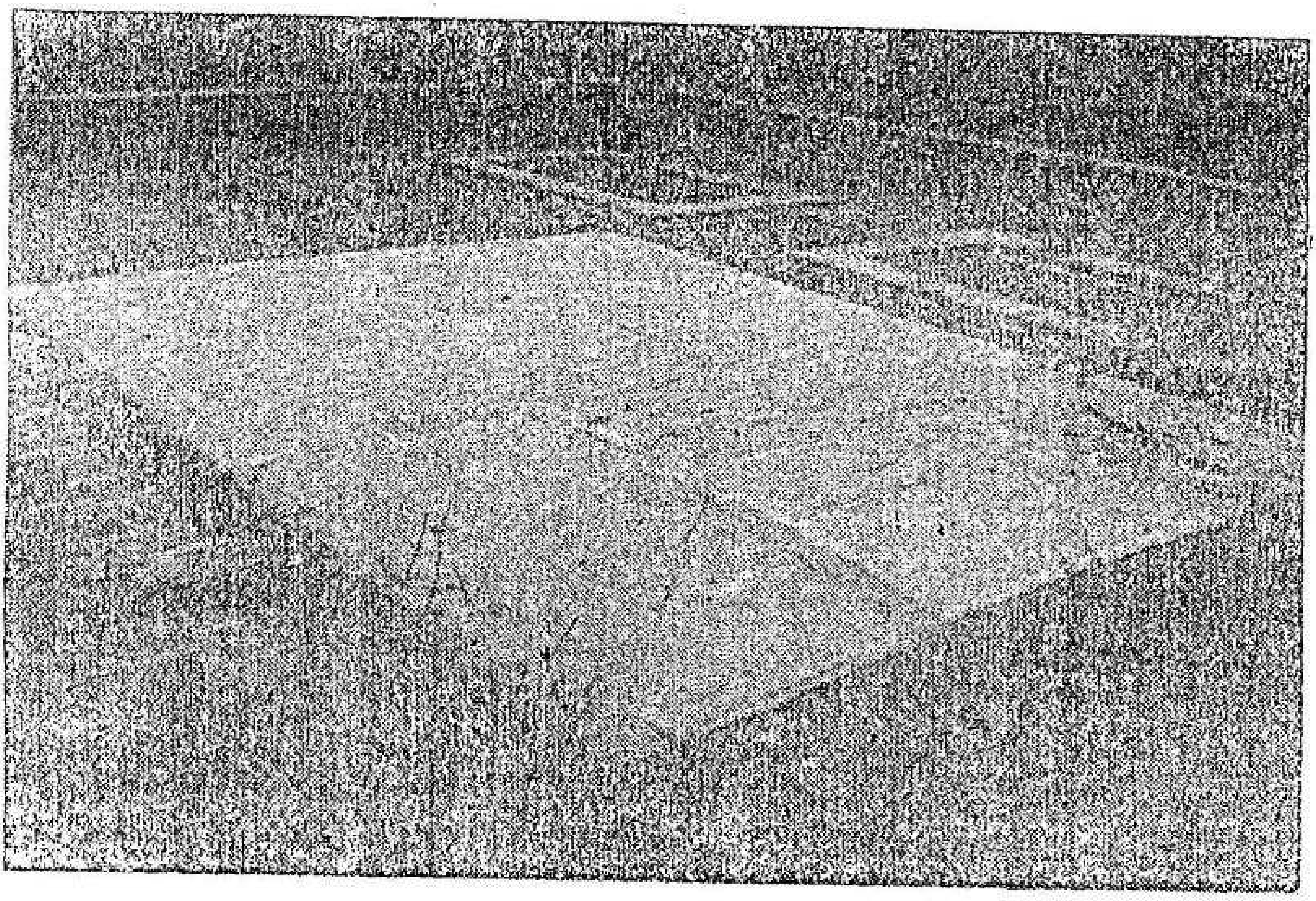
2. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Khazāna-e-'Āmira*, p. 153; Ḥusain Qulī Khān, *Nishtar-e-'Ishq*, Ms. f. 205.

3. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 372; Ḥusain Qulī Khān, *Nishtar-e-'Ishq*, Ms. f. 206-b.

4. Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhabal Lubāb*, II, p. 901. This appears to be the same Ghāirat Khān who informed Quṭbul Mulk, Ḥāsan 'Alī Khān, of the murder at Tora of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, Amīrul Umarā.

5. Āzād Bilgrāmī, at page 150 of *Sarw-e-Āzād*, says that Bedil died on Ṣafar 3, 1133 A.D. This date is wrong. Khushgū, for his date of the 4th Ṣafar, has strangely been supported by a colophon given at f. 126 of the Manuscript *Ruba'iyāt* of Bedil, completed on 9th Rabī 'I, 1133 A.H. There the scribe says that when he was writing the Manuscript in question, death of Bedil occurred on Thursday, 4th Ṣafar 1133 A.H. For this Colophon see Rieu, *The Supplement of the Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 212-A.

Moreover in *The Bankipore Library Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts*, under No. 381; in *The Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the India Office Library*, under No. 1676; and in *The Buhar Library Catalogue*, volume No. I, under No. 410, too, the date of Bedil's death is 4th Ṣafar, 1133 A.H. Khān Ārzū also gives this date in his *Majma'un Nafāis*, Ms. f. 56.



BEDIL'S TOMB (II)
(Courtesy Āqā-e-Sarwar Khān-e-Goyā)

house, on the bank of the river Jamna, at the place specified[1] by himself. Khushgū composed the following chronogram :[2]

افسوس که بیدل از جهان روی نهفت وآن جوهر پاک درته خاک بخفت
خوشگو چو ز عقل کرد تاریخ سوال از عالم رفت میرزا بیدل گفت

[Sorry ! Bedil concealed his face from this world.
That pure essane slept under the earth.
When Khushgū asked the Intellect for the chronogram,
It said, 'Mīrzā Bedil departed from this world']

When the dead body of Bedil was removed from his bed, his last compositions,[3] a Rubā'ī and a ghazal, written in Bedil's own hand, were found from under his pillow. The Rubā'ī is :

بیدل کلف و سیاه پوشی نشوی تشویش گلوئی نوحه گوشی نشوی
بر خاک بمیرد همچنان رو برباد مرگت سبک است بار دوشی نشوی

[Bedil, don't be a black spot for the mourner, a trouble for his parched throat,
Die on the dust, and in the same manner be carried away by the winds. Your death is light. Dont't be a burden for any shoulder.]

What a noble sentiment ! The ghazal had eleven couplets. Only the opening verse is given below :

به شبنمی صبح ابن گلستان فشاند جوش غبار خود را
عرق چو سیلاب از جبیں رفت و ما نکردیم کار خود را

[In the morning this garden shed the excitement of its dust in the form of dew.
(In our case) the perspiration flowed from the forehead like a torrent, but we did not perform our duty.]

The glorious rhyme of the ghazal, the perfect mastery with which the idioms and phrases are handled, and the profoundness of the truths

1. Ḥusain Qulī Khān, *Nishtar-e-'Ishq*, Ms. f. 206-b. In this *Taẕkira*, too, the date of Bedil's death is Thursday 4th Ṣafar 1133 A H.

2. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 374. In *Ma'ārif* for this month as well as for July 1942, we learn from Khushgū that Khān Ārzū's chronogram was : رفت بیدل از غم آباد فنا (1179—46=1133 ; that of 'Aṭā was : عبدالقادر بیدل رفت ; and San'at's was ختم کلام. The last two are numerically wrong, and I have failed to find out anything more about them. Āzād Bilgrāmī's chronogram :

سرو سر کردهٔ ارباب سخن از غم آباد جهان خرم رفت
نفت تاریخ وفاتش آزاد میرزا بیدل از عالم رفت

given at page 153 of his *Khazāna-e-'Āmira*, though numerically correct, is the same as that of Khushgū. It is, however, worth consideration that *Safīna-e-Khushgū* has not been included amongst the sources of *Khazāna-e-'Āmira*, which was compiled in 1171 A.H. See its pages 3 and 7.

3. Khushgū, in *Ma'arif*, May 1942, pp. 373-74.

expressed, especially the emphasis laid on the development of Self,[1] prove that Bedil's extraordinary mental powers kept functioning properly right up to the last moments of his life. Khushgū says that,* on the third[2] day after the death of Bedil, he saw with his own eyes the paper, having the Rubā'ī and the ghazal, in the hands of Mīrzā Muḥammad Sa'īd son of Mīrzā 'Ibādullah.

For a long time after the demise of Bedil, his death anniversaries were celebrated by his pupils and the other poets of Shāh Jahānābād. Khān Ārzū, who granted special interviews[3] to people on each anniversary, as he considered himself to be a pupil of Bedil, gives[4] 4th Ṣafar as the date of these celebrations. But Dargāh Qulī Khān—an assistant of Niẓāmul Mulk Āṣif Jāh – who visited[5] Dehlī in 1151 A.H., during the invasion of Nādir Shāh, says that the 'Urs was celebrated[6] on the 3rd Ṣafar. But as Khān Ārzū was himself one of the celebrators and the date of Bedil's death is also 4th Ṣafar, we cannot agree with Dargāh Qulī Khān. It is just possible that as the poets of the Metropolis regarded the 'Urs a most solemn occasion, initial activities began on the 3rd Ṣafar and the actual 'Urs was celebrated on the 4th.

On that day[7] illuminations were made by the people and food was distributed among the poor. The heavy staff of Bedil, which a strong man could carry with difficulty, even with both of his hands, was placed by the side of his tomb. The *Kullīyāt* also was placed near by. It had the following quatrain in the beginning :

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1. Read the following couplets of the ghazal :

به‌خویش گر چشم می کشودی چو موج دریا گره نبودی
چه سحر کرد آرزوی گوهر که غنچه کردی بهار خود را
تو شخص آزاد برفشانی قیامت است اینکه غنچه مانی
فزود خود داریت به رنگی که سنگ کردی شرار خود را

[Had you opened eyes to your own self, you would not have been a knot, like a wave on the surface of river.

Your desire for becoming a pea l was such a magic, that you changed your spring into a bud.

You are Freedom personified. Woe betide if you remain a bud.

Your self-respect has developed in such a way that you changed your spark into a stone.]

2. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 373.
3. Dargāh Qūlī Khān, *Muraqqa'*, pp. 44-45.
4. Khān Ārzū, *Majma'un Nafāis*, Ms. f. 56.
5. Dargāh Qulī Khān *Muraqqa'*, 1 ; Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Khazāna-e-'Āmira*, p. 225.
6. Dargāh Qūlī Khān, *Muraqqa'*, pp. 10-11.
7. Khān Ārzū, *Majma'un Nafāis*, Ms. f. 56; Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Khazāna-e-'Āmira*, p. 153 ; Dargāh Qulī Khān, *Muraqqa'*, pp. 10-11, 42, 44-45 ; Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May and July 1942, p. 374 ; Mukhlis, *The Paper Written by Mukhlis*, Ms. f. 1.

ای آیینۀ طبع تو ارشاد پذیر   درکسب فوائد نه نمائی تقصیر
مجموعۀ فکر ما صلای عام است   سیری کن و سمت تسلی برگیر

[Your nature readily accepts advice, therefore,
Don't fail in deriving benefit.
The collection of our thoughts is open to all.
Go through it and satisfy yourself.]

Ma'nīyāb Khān Shā'ir, a distinguished pupil of Bedil, who helped the poet's relatives after his death, took prominent part in the celebrations. Muhammad 'Aṭā Ullah 'Aṭā, another favourite pupil of Bedil, was also very enthusiastic about the 'Urs. All the pupils and the other poets used to sit round the tomb, and a ceremonial opening of the proceedings was made by reciting a ghazal from Bedil's Kullīyāt. Then Ma'nīyāb Khān Shā'ir recited his ghazal, as he had the foremost position among the poets of Shāh Jahānābād. Then other poets followed according to the descending order of their literary talents. It was always a very nice poetical symposium and all the participators experienced thrills of joy. Mirzā Muhammad Sa'īd, being the son of a cousin of Bedil and therefore his nephew, was regarded as the spiritual successor (سجاده نشین) of the poet. He, therefore, made arrangements for entertaining the guests and for light on the occasion of the 'Urs. He was not a poet, but he made his living by selling the different electuaries (معاجین) and pills invented by Bedil, which had a good sale in Shāh Jahānābād.

Muhammad 'Aṭā Ullah 'Aṭa died in 1136 A.H. (1723 A.D.) but Ma'nīyāb Khān Shā'ir lived till 1157 A.H.[1] (1744 A.D.). Still there is evidence in support of the fact that the death anniversaries of Bedil continued to be celebrated even afterwards. Mīr 'Abdul Walī 'Uzlat—a poet from Sūrat—arrived in Shāh Jahānābād on 20th Jumada I, 1164 A.H.[2] He took part in the 'Urs celebrations. It is clear that he could not do so before 4th Ṣafar, 1165 A.H. He says[3] all the poets of Shāh Jahānābād had gathered on the occasion, and as usual they had brought the Kullīyāt of Bedil, which they opened in the meeting. Mīr 'Abdul Walī 'Uzlat wanted to find out if Bedil knew about their arrival. He opened the Kullīyāt and found the following Maṭla' in the beginning of the first page :

چه مقدار خون در عدم خورده باشم   که بر خاکم آئی و من مرده باشم

[How grieved I feel in the other world,
When you come to my tomb and I am dead.]

1. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, pp. 44, 47.
2. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 236.
3. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Khazāna-e-'Āmira*, p. 153.

All those present saw this miracle (کرامت) of Bedil. The event narrated by 'Uzlat has been recorded by Āzād Bilgrāmī in his *Khazāna-e-'Āmira*, which was compiled[1] in 1171 A.H., and, while speaking about the Kullīyāt, which remained at the tomb of Bedil, Āzād says that he bought[2] a copy of the ghazlīyāt written in that Kullīyāt. This shows that the celebrations had continued till 1171 A.H., i.e. at least for thirty-eight years after the death of Bedil. The pupils of Bedil died one by one. We do not know when the death of Mīrzā Muḥammad Sa'īd, the Sajjāda Nashīn (spiritual successor) of Bedil took place, but it is certain that at his death, activities with regard to the 'Urs must have, at least, considerably slackened, if not altogether stopped dead. Ghulām Hamdānī Muṣḥafī compiled his Tazkira, *'Iqd-e-Surayyā*, in 1199 A.H.[3] He says that at that time Bedil's house, which had the tomb of Bedil in its compound, was absolutely in a dilapidated condition.[4] It means that long since this date the 'Urs had ceased to be celebrated. After this we learn adout the death anniversaries of Bedil from Kabul where even in 1370 A.H. (1951 A.D.), the celebrations were held with usual solemnity in the house of Hāshim Shāiq Āfandī, a professor of Persian in Kabul University, and eminent poets and scholars, like Ṣūfī Betāb, Khalilullah Khān Khalīlī, Dr. Ans, and Sarwar-e-Goyā participated.[5]

Owing to constant neglect, the tomb of this great poet became unknown. We have seen above that when the twelfth century of the Hijra closed, Bedil's house was in a dilapidated condition. As there was none to look after the tomb, it must have disappeared, owing to the wear and tear of time, during the first three or four decades[6] of the thirteenth century of the Hijra. Maulānā Ḥasan Nizāmī, author of several works about Dehlī, wrote[7] to me that when he translated the *Muraqqa'-e-Dehlī*, by Nawāb Dargah Qulī Khān, into Urdu, he mentioned therein that the tomb of Bedil was unknown. On reading it Maulānā Shāh Sulaimān Sāḥib Phulwārī wrote to him that the tomb was in front of the Old Fort and in the vicinity of the tomb of Ḥazrat Malik Nūr-ud-Din Yār-e-Parrān. The Maulānā went there. No vestige of the tomb was left, but he says he discovered the site. A request was then made to the present Nizām Āṣif Jāh VII, who remitted Rs. 2,000 and the tomb with a marble tomb-stone

1. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Khazānā-e-'Imira*, p. 3. خزانۂ عامرہ itself is the chronogram.

2. Ibid., p. 153.

3. Muṣḥafī, *'Idqd-e-Surayyā*, preface.

4. Ibid., p. 16.

5. *Āryāna* (Kabul) Magazine, p. 3.

6. Sayyid Aḥmad, writing about the tombs and buildings of Dehlī about the middle of thirteenth century of Hijra (1847 A.D.), does not mention the tomb. See page 154 of آثار الصنادید.

7. Ḥasan Nizāmī, *His letter in my possession*, f. 1.

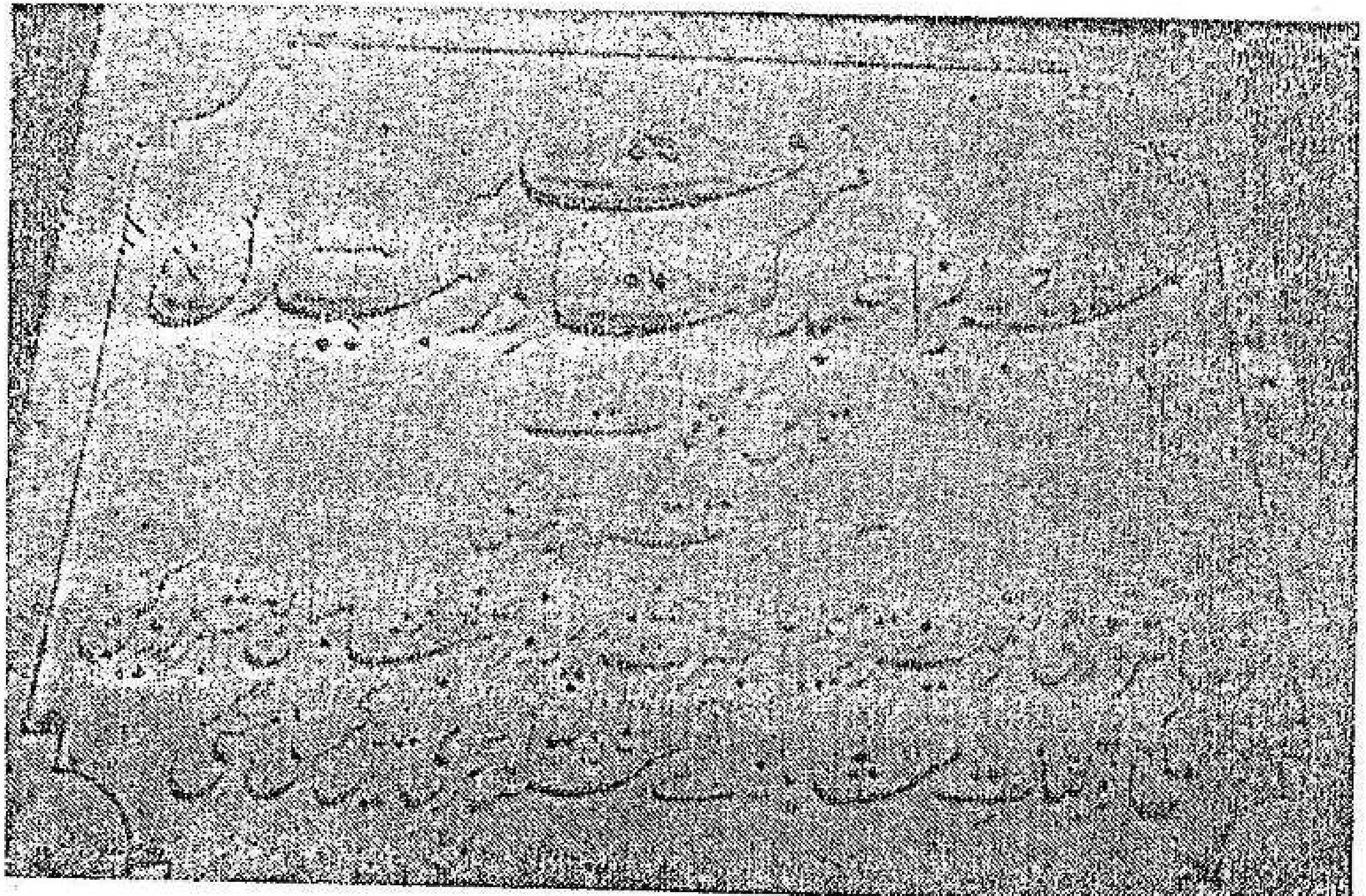
and a low enclosure of bricks was rebuilt. The inscription[1] on it reads:

مرقد میرزا عبدالقادر بیدل تاریخ وفات ۳ صفر ۱۱۳۳ھ
[اس کی ضروری تعمیر و ترمیم اعلیحضرت پرنور آصف جاہ سابع شہریار دکن کی
توجہات شاہانہ سے ۱۳۵۹ھ میں کرائی گئی۔]

The tomb of Mīrzā 'Abdul Qādir Bedil.
Date of death: 3rd Ṣafar, 1133 A.H.
[Necessary repairs and constructions made in 1359 A.H. through the royal regards of His Highness Āṣ f Jāh VII, the ruler of the Deccan.]

The date of death as given in this inscription is incorrect. It should be 4th Ṣafar, 1133 A.H. Moreover, the house of Bedil, where he was buried at his death, was situated on the bank of the River Jumna, as stated[2] by Ḥusain Qulī Khān in *Nishtar-e-'Ishq*; and outside the Dehlī Gate and the City-Wall, in the quarter of Khikrian by the Guzar Ghat (ferry), as stated by Khushgū.[3] This authoritative description of the locality places the tomb of Bedil in the neighbourhood of Delhī Gate. But the Old Fort, where, near the tomb of Malik Nūr-ud-Dīn Yār-e-Parrān, Maulānā Ḥasan Niẓāmī has discovered the site of Bedil's tomb, is at a distance of more[4] than two miles from Dehlī Gate. No doubt the River Jumna at one time flowed[5] near the tomb of Yār-e-Parrān, and Bedil's tomb was also at the river-bank, but this alone cannot be a decisive factor in determining the situation of Bedil's tomb. Besides, the tomb of Yār-e-Parrān and also the equally famous tomb of Abū Bakr Ṭūsī opposite it have existed[6] since the days of the Khaljī kings. But neither Khushgū nor Ḥusain Qulī Khān has made any reference to these two very important tombs or to the Old Fort. Reference to Dehlī Gate, therefore, shows that Bedil's house was nearer to this place than to the three almost contiguous historic places mentioned above. Finally, in *Āsār-uṣ-Ṣanādīd* by Sir Sayyid Aḥmad, which was written in 1847 A.D., and also in the subsequent books: *Gharābat Nigār*, *Mazārāt-e-Auliyā-e-Dehlī* and *Wāqi'āt-e-Dārul Ḥukūmat-e-Dehlī* no mention has been made of the tomb of Bedil. It is worth consideration that the last book in particular treats the subject exhaustively and mentions even the ruins[7]

1. Cf. the photo of the tomb attached.
2. Ḥusain Qulī Khān, *Nishtar-e-'Ishq*, Mss.
3. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942.
4. Sayyid Aḥmad, Sir, *Āsār-uṣ-Ṣanādīd*, p. 47; 'Abdul Ḥaq, *Gharābat Nigār*, p. 23.
5. Bashīr-ud-Dīn, *Wāqi'āt-e-Dārul Ḥukūmat-e-Dehlī*, II, pp. 623-24.
6. Muḥammad 'Ālam Shāh, *Mazārāt-e-Auliyā-e-Dehlī*, pp. 14, 16.
7. *Wāqi'āt-e-Dārul Ḥukūmat-e-Dehlī*, II, p. 625.



INSCRIPTION ON BEDIL'S TOMB
(Courtesy—Āqā-e-Sarwar Khān-e-Goyā

of Dehlī. *Āsār-us-Sanadīd* also is of the utmost importance in this connection. Mīrzā Asadullah Khān Ghālib[1] (1797-1869 A.D.), who was an ardent follower[2] of Bedil, wrote a review[3] on the book. Had there been any vestige of Bedil's tomb in 1847 A.D., Ghālib must have asked Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān to mention it. It is, therefore, certain that absolutely no trace of Bedil's tomb was left by that time.[4] In view of all this I am emphatically of the opinion that Maulānā Ḥasan Niẓāmī has not been able to discover the right site of Bedil's tomb. A tomb, which, in spite of its indistinct shape, could be distinguished by Ḥasan Niẓāmī in 1941 A.D. (1359 A.H.), could afford better visibility in 1847 A.D., i.e. about a century earlier. But we know Ghālib and Sir Sayyid Aḥmad have not uttered even a single word about the tomb in *Āsār-us-Sanādīd*. To locate the tomb, therefore, a thorough and scientific search is needed at the spot.[5]

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1. Mehr, Ghulām Rasūl, *Ghālib*, pp. 1, 256.
2. *Gulshan-e-Bekhar*, in Springer, I, p. 220; Mehr, Ghulām Rasul, *Ghālib*, p. 334. Ghālib himself has said:

طرز بیدل میں ریختہ لکھنا　　اسداللہ خاں قیامت ہے

[Asadullah Khān! It is extremely difficult to write ghazals in Bedil's style.]

3. Sayyid Aḥmad, Sir, *Āsār-us-Sanādīd*, pp. 125-27. The following verse of Ghālib suggests that the tomb of Bedil had disappeared even before his (Ghālib's) times:

گر ملے حضرت بیدل کا خط لوح مزار　　اسد آئینہ پرواز معانی مانگے

4. Ibid., p. 51. At this page Sayyid Aḥmad seems to speak about the locality where Bedil's house was situated, but he has not mentioned the house or the tomb in question.

5. It may be noted that Dargāh Qulī Khān places the tomb in the Old Dehlī (دہلی کہنہ), see Dargāh Qulī Khān, *Muraqqa'-e-Dehlī*, p. 10.

WORKS

Introductory

Bedil, we have seen, was very careful over the preservation of his works. Before handing them over to posterity, he weighed them against precious stones and pearls, gave alms, and prayed to God that his works be preserved. We know that the Kullīyāt, which was weighed in this way, remained at the tomb of Bedil for many years, and on every death anniversary the poets of Shāh Jahānābād placed it in their midst near Bedil's tomb and recited poems from it. But we do not know what happened to this Kullīyāt afterwards, nor whether now it does exist anywhere in the world or not. Moreover, not long after the poet's death in 1720 A.D. (1133 A.H.) the Mughal Imperial Government of Dehlī had to pass through several vicissitudes[1] until it finally ended in 1857 A.D. As for over a century, conditions were absolutely unsettled in Dehlī, it appears that most of the manuscript copies of his works were either destroyed or, with the exception of a few, they found their way to different European countries, especially England. Fortunately, during his lifetime, Bedil's fame had crossed the North-Western Frontiers of this subcontinent, and manuscripts of his works had reached Bukhārā and Shahr-e-Sabz, where the scribes made many copies and gave them a wide circulation. This explains why almost all the manuscript copies of his Kullīyāt, which exist[2] in Kabul, have been imported from these two cities of Central Asia. From this account it appears that Bedil's prayer for the preservation of his works, was granted, although the original copy of the Kulliyāt, written under his own supervision, appears to have been lost.

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1. Reference has been made here to the invasions of Nādir Shāh and Aḥmad Shāh, the rebellion of the Rohillas and the Marhattas, and the conquests of the British.

2. For example, Kābul Museum Kulliyāt No. 33—having محیط اعظم - رقعات - نغمه وحدت - هجوم حیرت - بهارستان جنون - سرمهٔ اعتبار - گدڑی نامه - فوائد - عرفان - خاموشی and طلسم حیرت—was written in Bukhārā in 1236 A.H. by one Mullā 'Abdul Khāliq; and Kulliyāt No. 202—having غزلیات - رباعیات - ترجیع بند - تعریف فیل و شمشیر و اسپ and رسالهٔ کیمیا - مخمسات - قصائد و قطعات

A study of the printed catalogues, describing Persian manuscripts existing in various libraries of the world, brings to light some very important facts with regard to the works of Bedil. Some of the manuscripts of his works were written during his lifetime, and some only a few years after his death. The Bankipur Library[1] has a manuscript copy of the رباعیات of Bedil which was written in 1118 A.H. (1706-07), i.e. thirteen years before the death of Bedil, and it is believed that this copy was transcribed by the poet himself. This library has also another very valuable[2] copy of Bedil's Rubā'īs written eleven years before his death, i.e. in 1122 A.H. But the most complete[3] collection of Bedil's Rubā'īs extant, containing nearly 3,500 epigrams in a strictly alphabetical order, dated 17th Muḥarram, 1126 A.H. (February 2, 1714), exists in the India Office Library. It would, however, be interesting to note that in the British Museum, London, there is a collection of Bedil's Rubā'īs, which the copyist began[4] to write when Bedil was alive, and finished it on 9th Rabī' I, 1133 A.H. (January 8, 1721), i.e. one month and four days after the poet's death; and incidentally the copyist has a colophon, at folio 126, which gives Thursday, 4th Ṣafar, 1133 A.H. (December 5, 1720) as the date of Bedil's death.

As regards the oldest manuscript copies of the other independent works of Bedil, the Masnavī *'Irfān* and the prose-work *Nikāt*, bearing the dates 1128 A.H. (1715-6 A.H.) and 1154 A.H. (1741-2 A.D.), respectively, are found in the British Museum.[5] *Tilism-e-Ḥairat*, transcribed in 1188 A.H. (1774-5 A.D.), exists in the Edinburgh University Library[6]; and *Ṭūr-e-Ma'rifat*, copied in 1191 A.H. (1777-8 A.D.), has been preserved in the India Office Library.[7] In Kabul I saw a very valuable manuscript copy of the Masnavī *Muḥīt-e-A'ẓam*, in the possession of Professor Hāshim Shāiq Āfandī[8] of Kabul University. This was written in 1134 A.H. (1721-2 A.D.) only one year after the death of Bedil, by one Muḥammad Wāris ibn Muḥammad Bāqir Ṣiddīqi. Two copies of this Masnavī, written each in 1161 A.H. (1748 A.D.), which are older than the other known copies, are found[9] in the Edinburgh University Library and the India Office Library.

—was written in Shahr-e-Sabz in 1147 A.H. (1734-5 A.D.) by one Muḥammad Yūnus Khwāja.

1. *Bankipur Library Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, Ms. No. 386.
2. Ibid., No. 385.
3. *India Office Library Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, Ms. No. 1681.
4. *British Museum Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, Supplement, fol. 212-a.
5. *Ibid.*, folios 707-a and 746-b.
6. *Edinburgh University Library Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, No. 317.
7. *India Office Library Catalogue of Persian Mss.* No. 1686.
8. *Āryāna Magazine*, Kabul for Dalv, 1329 A.H., pp. 6-11.
9. *Edinburgh University Library Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, No, 314; *India Office Library Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, No. 1682.

Leaving aside these independent works found separately, we come to the Dīwān or Kullīyāt of Bedil. Its first copy was prepared towards the close of the eleventh century of the Hijra. Perhaps a manuscript of this Dīwān, bearing the date 1098 A.H.—a copy of which remained in possession of Anand Rām Mukhliṣ, who obtained on it the autograph of Bedil—is found[1] in the Ḥabīb Ganj Library. It has only 5,346 verses, and specimens of all types of verse have been given. Another copy[2] of the old or first Dīwān of the poet, having a Preface, Ghazals, Qaṣīdās, and Rubā'īs, is found in the India Office Library. This copy was finished on the 15th of Zulqa'da, A.H. 1106 (May 13, 1695). It is not known whether these two copies of the old Dīwān are identical or not. The Bankipur Library has a Kullīyāt[3] of Bedil, in two volumes, which was written only one or two years after the poet's death. It is said to contain complete prose and poetical works of Mīrzā 'Abdul Qādir Bedil. It contains:

Volume I. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, *Ruq'āt*, Preface to the old Dīwān, Qaṣīdās, *Qiṭ'ahs*, Rubā'īs, etc., تنبیه المهوسین, Satirical Rubā'īs, and Ghazals.

Volume II. *Rubā'īs*, *Ṭūr-e-Ma'arifat*, *Muḥīṭ-e-A'ẓam*, *Ṭilism-e-Ḥairat*, and *'Irfān*.

But if the chronological priority of Bankipur Dīwān is set aside, I would attach equal importance to the Kābul Museum[4] richly adorned and elegant Dīwān of Bedil, written by Muḥammad Qāsim Ibn Mullā Shafī' Ullah in 1247 A.H. (1831-2 A.D.) because, although it does not contain تنبیه المهوسین and طور معرفت, it has *Nikāt* and Ishārāt of Bedil, of which the Bankipur Dīwān is bereft.

But this does not mean that these two Dīwāns put together contain all the prose and poetical works of Bedil. Much would still be wanting. The Masnavī *Gul-e-Zard*, about which Bedil wrote[5] to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, has not been mentioned and unfortunately all the catalogues are silent about it. Besides, the Dīwān in the Panjāb University Library has 29 Mukhammasāt of Bedil, which have not been given in the above-mentioned Dīwāns. But the Panjab University Dīwān, too, has not got the Mukhammasāt beginning with the following lines:

این خیره سری چند که نی حال و نه قال اند
الصلا ای سرخوشان جام اقبال طرب
ای از عدم تا هستیت هنگامهٔ نیرنگها

1. *Ma'ārif*, for January 1934 A.D.
2. *India Office Library Catalogue*, Ms. No. 1676.
3. *Bankipur Library Catalogue*, Ms. No. 381.
4. Kābul Museum Kullīyāt No. 52.
5. Bedil wrote that he had written 150 verses of the Masnavī. I think it was incorporated by him in his *Ṭūr-e-Ma'rifat*. I base my opinion on the following hemistitch found in the latter:

گل زردم گل زردم گل زرد

I found[1] these three Mukhammsāt in the Diwān in Ma'ārif Library, Kābul, written in 1309 A.H. (1891-2 A.D.) by Ghulām Ḥusain Kābulī. This brings the number of the poems of this kind to 32, but when I was in Kābul, Professor Hāshim Shā'q Āfandī told me that he had counted 45 Mukhammasāt. The Ma'ārif Library Dīwān,[2] mentioned just now, contains some more additional material. It has a Tarkīb Band, Tarjī' Band, Riddles, and verses in praise of the elephant, the horse, the beloved, the sword, and Shab-e-Barāt. Both, Khushgū[3] and the author[4] of *Gul-e-Ra'nā*, have included almost all of these in the works of Bedil. Moreover, in this Kābulī Dīwān, there are 65 verses by Bedil in the Turkish[5] language. I give only one verse from the Qaṣīda:

ای تخت تیموری اور رانادر　　　　بو جمله غاخانلا اور دی تادر

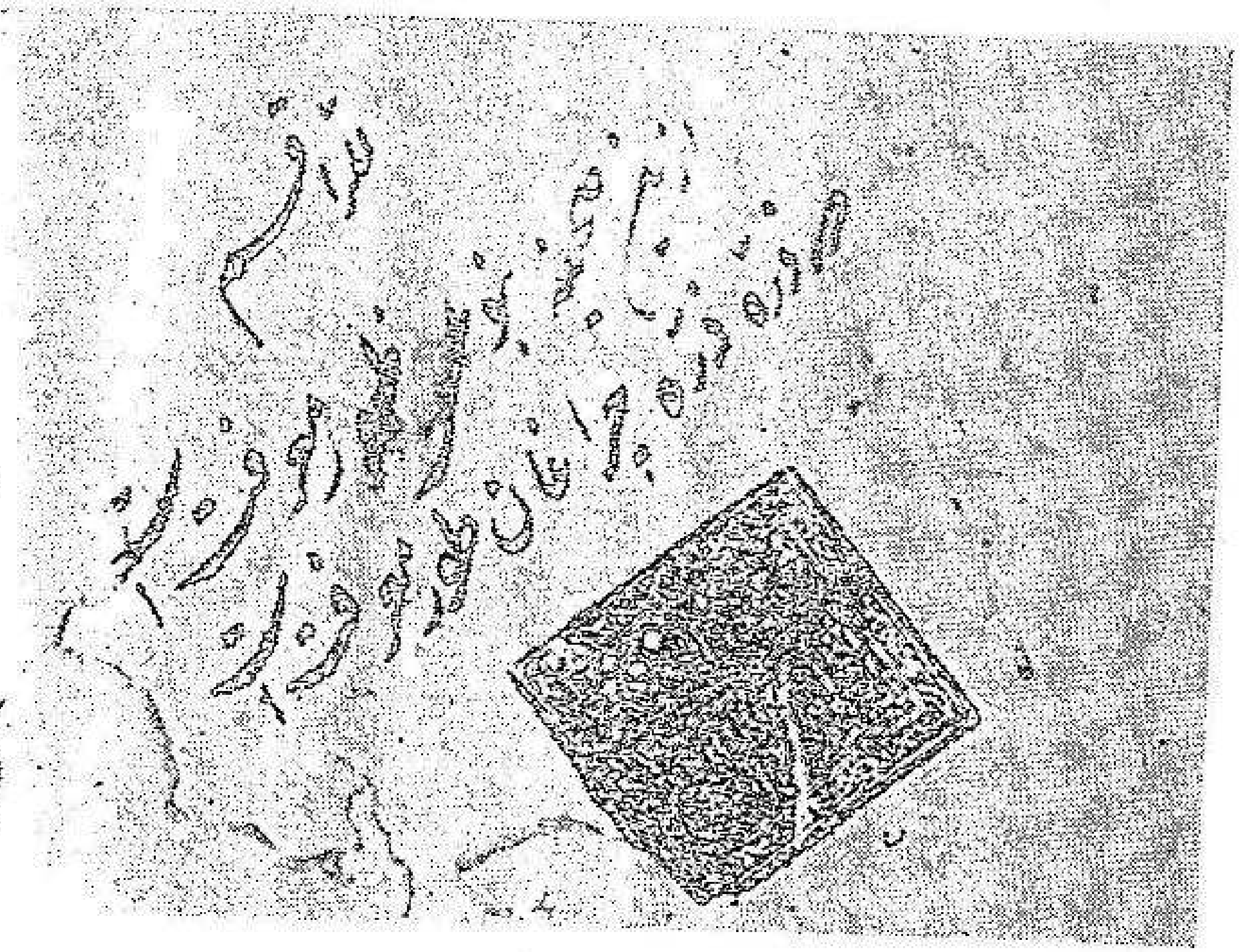
We should not be surprised to learn this because we know already that Bedil knew[6] Turkish. Also Khushgū speaks[7] about an Anthology (بیاض) compiled by Mīrzā Bedil which has been described[8] by Dr. Rieu in the catalogue of the British Museum, London. Moreover, Bedil himself speaks about another work on Geomancy (رمل), called *Tālīful Aḥkām*.[9] No biographer, however, has mentioned anything about this work, although Khushgū has stated[10] that the poet was well versed in the Art. This compilation, too, like the Maṣnavī *Gul-e-Zard*, seems to have been lost. Finally, both[11] Khushgū and the author of *Gul-e-Ra'nā*, tell us that Bedil composed about, 99,000 verses and they state that Maṣnavī *Muḥīṭ-e-A'ẓam* of Bedil contains 2,000 verses only. But in the Edinburgh University Library there are

1. Ma'ārif Library, Kābul, Ms. No. 504/9 folios 1031, 1042, and 1088 respectively.

2. It contains:

اوراق حمد و نعت و مناقب و ترکیب بند ، نکات ، اوراق در تعریف فیل ، اوراق حکایت در علم کیمیا ، اوراق در تعریف دهان و کلام معشوق و تعریف اسپ ، اوراق ترجیع بند ، اوراق در تعریف شمشیر ، اوراق غزلیات ، اوراق قصیدهٔ اُخروی ، اوراق تاریخ تولد و غزل و رباعی بی نقط ، اوراق رباعیات ، اوراق در صفت شب برات و عمارت و تاریخ و قطعات ، اوراق معما و چیستان ، رباعیات تهنیت ، تعزیت و مخمسات و رباعیات ۔

3. Khushgū, in *Ma'āraf*, May 1942, pp 374-6.
4. *Bankipur Library Catalogue*, under No. 381.
5. Ma'ārif Library, Kabul, Ms. No. 504/9, page 1001.
6. Page 44 supra.
7. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif* May 1942, p. 376.
8. Rieu, *British Museum Catalogue*, f. 737a-b.
9. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, Preface to *Ruq'āt*, p. 1.
10. Page 105, supra.
11. Foot notes No, 3 and 4 above.





two manuscript copies of this Masnavī and one is larger[1] than the other. In the Punjab University Library,[2] too, there are two copies of this Masnavī, of which each has about 6,000 verses; and the one I saw with Hāshim Shāiq Āfandī in Kābul had also an equal number of verses. It is thus apparent that Bedil's works are scattered all over the world, and that no manuscript Kullīyāt of Bedil contains his complete prose and poetical works.

Incidentally, it would be of particular interest to the admirers of the great Urdu poet Asadullah Khān Ghālib, that, in the Panjab University Library, there is a manuscript[3] having Bedil's Masnavīs *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat* and *Muhīt-e-A'zam,* which were for some time with Ghālib. The *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat*, on its first page, above the seal impression of Ghālib, has the following couplet in his own beautiful cursive hand:

ازیں صحیفه بنوعی ظهور معرفت است　　که ذره ذره چراغان طور معرفت است

> [From this treatise a wide range of mystical knowledge is revealed in such a way that
> [Every atom is luminous like the mount Sinai of knowledge (طور معرفت)].

Similarly, the Masnavī *Muhīt-e-A'zam* has the following couplet:

هر حبابی را که موجش گل کند جام جم است
آب حیوان آبجوئی از محیط اعظم است

> [Every bubble that rises from the wave is the cup of Jamshid and the
> Water of Life is but a streamlet from the محیط اعظم (Great Ocean).]

The seal bears the date 1231 A.H. (1815-6 A.D.).

So much about the manuscripts. Now we should take up the published works of Bedil. As far as I have been able to discover, the *Ruq'āt* of the poet were published, with marginal notes, in Hasnī Press, Lucknow, in 1260 A.H. (1844-5 A.D.) in the Nawilkishore Press in 1292 A.H. (1875-6 A.D.) and in the Ahmadī Press, Shāhdara (Meerut). His *Chahār 'Unsur*, too, was published, in the last mentioned press in 1278 A.H. (1861-2 A.D.). Dr. Ethe says[4] that the old or *first Dīwān* of Bedil, together with رقعات و نکات and چهار عنصر, was lithographed in 1287 A.H. (1870-1 A.D.), at Lucknow, under the title کلیات بیدل. This was perhaps re-published in the Nawilkishore Press

1. *Edinburgh University Library Catalogue*, Ms. No. 315.
2. Panjab University Library, Mss. Nos. 1524 and 1526.
3. Ibid., Ms. No. 1526. Khwāja 'Ibādullah Akhtar also gives these verses of Ghālib in his book *Bedil*, but as he got everything relating to these verses from the author of this work, the original source has been given here.
4. Ethe, *India Office Library Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, under No. 1676.

in 1292 A.H. (1875-6 A.D.), because it contains all the prose and poetical works of Bedil mentioned by Ethe. The *Ghazliyāt* were published in Shāhdara (Meerut) in 1170 A.H. (1756-7 A.D.), in the Nawilkishore Press in 1914 A.D., in Tāshkand in 1330 A.H. (1912 A.D.), and in Lahore in 1333 A.H. (1915 A.D.). The last two are identical, and besides the Ghazliyāt, they have also the Qaṣā'id and Rubā'iyāt. The Shāhdara copy has only Ghazliyāt, while the Nawilkishore one has in addition *Nikāt* as well as a number of Rubā'iyāt, and it is said that its original was brought[1] from Bukhārā, in manuscript form, by some traders. All the Dīwāns mentioned here have only selections of Bedil's Ghazals. The Kulliyāt too does not contain many important works. I would, therefore, like to discuss at length the two most important editions of Bedil's works.

Two traders,[2] Mukhtār Shāh and Mullā 'Abdul Ḥakīm, once came to Bombay from Marghīnān,[3] a famous town near Farghāna in Transoxania, and brought with them a unique manuscript copy of the Kulliyāt of Bedil. They requested Mullā Nūr-ud-Dīn, the proprietor of the Safdarī Press, Bombay, to arrange for the publication of the Kulliyāt. Mullā Nūr-ud-Dīn undertook to do the needful with the keenness and enthusiasm rarely shown by publishers. He collected the works of Bedil from every land where they were found (بهر دیاری که کلام بیدل یافتند فراهم کردند). Eminent scholars of Persian were employed to collate the manuscripts and to correct the proofs. The calligraphist, Sayyid 'Alī Khān, who wrote the transcript, had a beautiful Nasta'līq hand. The Kulliyāt was brought out in 1299 A.H. (1881-82 A.D.), and, as claimed:

نظیرش معدوم و مثالش موهوم

it is really matchless. Whether it turned out to be a commercial enterprise or not, there is no denying the fact that the publishers rendered a great service to Persian literature.

The Kulliyāt is $13\frac{1}{4} \times 10$ inches, four columns to a page for poetry. The maximum number of verses which a page can have is 73, 60 in the four columns, and 13 on the margin, and the number of pages is 1,032. It has, therefore, not less than 70,000 couplets. No other known copy of the Kulliyāt of Bedil, whether manuscript or published, has so many couplets. Moreover, with the exception of گل زرد, تالیف الاحکام, مخمسات, verses in praise of an elephant, etc., verses in Turkish, and بیاض,[4] every other work of Bedil is included

1. *Dīwān-e-Bedil with Nikāt*, Nawilkishore Edition, p. 258.
2. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, last but one page at the end of *Qiṭ'āt*.
3. Yāqūt, *Mu'jamul Baldān*, v. 8, p. 27.
4. The first two are perhaps lost, and, as far as I know, no Kulliyāt has all the مخمسات together. As regards the rest of the works these introductory remarks tell a lot.

in this Kullīyāt. Also I found that in it the Maṣnavī *Muḥīt-i-A'ẓam* has only 2,000 verses and not 6,000 as some manuscripts of the Maṣnavī contain.[1] The number of Ghazlīyāt and Qiṭ'āt too is less. In spite of these drawbacks it is, as I have remarked, far better than any other Kullīyāt of Bedil.

At the end of the Kullīyāt a brief biography of the poet has been given. We are told that he belonged to the Arlās tribe of Mughals, and that he was born in 'Azīmābād, Patna. Other details too corroborate our researches. There is also a concise but instructive review on Bedil's verse.

Now I turn to the other Dīwān of supreme value typed in Arabic script, with meticulous care, in Kābul in 1334 A.H. (1916 A.D.), at the behests of Amīr Ḥabībullah Khān. It consists only of ghazals, and is 19×13 inches. It has 232 pages, with 4 columns each except when there is a ghazal with a longer metre, and then there are only two columns. The average number of couplets to a page is about 82. The Dīwān, therefore, has about 20,000 couplets in all. But the ghazals given in it go only up to the letter 'د' (dāl). It is hence an incomplete volume, and probably remained so owing to the sudden and unfortunate end of Ḥabībullah Khān. Still it is an invaluable edition. Its characteristic features are:

1. The Dīwān has been arranged in alphabetical order keeping in view both the opening letter and the last letter of each ghazal. It is, therefore, very easy to search out a ghazal when its first letter is known.

2. The Dīwān has the greatest number of ghazals under each ردیف. For example, in *Kullīyāt-e-Safdarī* under 'radīf Alaf' there are 204 ghazals, while this Dīwān has 335.

3. Every ghazal in this Dīwān has the largest number of couplets. We take the ghazal beginning with:

زهی نظاره را از جلوهٔ حسن تو زیورها

The *Kullīyāt-e-Ṣafdarī* and the Lahore Dīwān have each 7 couplets in this ghazal. The Nawilkishore Dīwān has 11, and the Dīwān under discussion has 15.

4. In the case of several ghazals, having the same metre and rhyme, overlappings are observed in other Dīwāns but not in the Kābul Dīwān. In *Kullīyāt-e-Ṣafdarī* there are three ghazals of the metre and rhyme:

زهی نظاره را از جلوهٔ حسن تو زیورها

The first two have the same opening verse, and the second and

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1. PP. 122-3, Supra.

the third have the same concluding verse. Moreover, several other couplets have been repeated in all the three ghazals. The Kābul Dīwān has also three ghazals, but it is absolutely free from this defect.

5. In the ghazals of the same metre and the same rhyme, the Kābul Dīwān has the largest number of verses. In the aforesaid three ghazals, this Dīwān has 43 verses, while the *Kullīyāt-e-Safdarī* has only 33.

6. The hemistitches of verses in some cases have been interchanged even in *Kullīyāt-e-Safdarī* and the verses, therefore, become meaningless. In the Kābul Dīwān this intermingling too has been avoided. The following verses of both the Dīwāns may be studied side by side:

Kullīyāt-e-Safdarī

نیست ممکن رنگ را بابوی گل آمیختن
کمتر افتد نرمی٭ پستان زن نازاده را

ساز خست نیست بیدل بی درشتیهائی طبع
کم رسد گرد کدورت دامن آلوده را

Kābul Dīwān

نیست ممکن رنگ را بابوی گل آمیختن
کم رسد گرد کدورت دامن آزاده را

ساز خست نیست بیدل بی درشتیهائی طبع
کمتر افتد نرمی٭ پستان زن نازاده را

7. Last but not the least, the Kābul Dīwān has more often the most correct form of each verse. The following verse in both these Dīwāns may be compared:

Kullīyāt-e-Safdarī

سر سودائی ما را غم دستار کی باشد
که همچون غنچه از بویت بطوفان می رود سرها

Kābul Dīwān

سر سودائی مارا غم دستار کی پیچد
که همچون غنچه از بویت بطوفان می رود سرها

Everyone would agree with the aptness of the word پیچد in the *Kābul Dīwān*.

Without minimising in the least the value of *Kullīyāt-e-Safdarī*, I would hold that the Kābul Dīwān is the superior-most publication of Bedil's Ghazals. But it is most unfortunate that political cataclysms did not allow this task to be completed.

We have considered above the manuscripts and the published Dīwāns of Bedil in detail. It is, therefore, appropriate at this stage to give in one place all his works. Besides the two pamphlets گل زرد and تالیف الاحکام, which have been apparently lost, the verse of Bedil consists[1] of:

1. *Ghazlīyāt*; 2. *Tarkīb Band*; 3. *Tarjī' Band*; 4. *Ṭilism-e-Ḥairat*; 5. *Muḥīṭ-e-A'ẓam*; 6. *Ṭūr-e-Ma'rifat*; 7. *'Irfān*; 8. *Tanbīhul Muhavvisīn*; 9. *Ishārāt-o-Ḥikāyāt*; 10. *Qaṣā'id*; 11. *Qiṭ'āt*; 12. *Rubā'iyāt*; 13. *Mukhammasāt*; 14. Verses in praise of an elephant, a horse, the beloved, the sword and Shab-e-Barāt; 15. Riddles; 16. Facia, 17. Verses in Turkish language.

And his prose consists of:

1. *Ruq'āt*; 2. *Chahār 'Unṣur*; 3. *Nikāt*. 4. *Biaẓ*. 5. *Prefaces*.

I would discuss all these works in the following order:

Chapter IV. Ghazlīyāt.

Chapter V. Masnavīs: *Muḥīṭ-e-A'ẓam*, *Ṭilism-e-Ḥairat*, *Ṭūr-e-Ma'rifat*, *'Irfān*, *Tanbīhul Muhavvisīn*, *The Descriptive Masnavī*, and *Ishārāt-o-Ḥikāyāt*.

Chapter VI. *Qaṣā'id*, *Quatrains* (including poet's facia), *Mukhammasāt*, *Tarkīb Band*, *Tarjī' Band*, *Fragments*, and *Riddles*.

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1. Under Persian Books, a work نرگستان by Bedil has been mentioned in the *Catalogue of the India Office Library*. It is the story of Rāmāyana versified by some other Bedil and has been lithographed in Lucknow in A.D. 1875. In the *Catalogue of the Persian Printed Books in the British Museum*, Edwards speaks about a work: کتاب مستطاب تحفة الذاکرین بیدل, lithographed in Teheran, in A.D. 1863-64, in three volumes. It is a history of Ḥusain and other members of the Prophet's family, and is illustrated. Muḥammad Ḥusain Āzād too, in *Nigāristān-e-Fāris*, has mentioned a similar book named مجالس بیدل. But I don't think Bedil ever wrote such like books. Doctor Ethe also speaks about another mystical poem by Bedil which is without title and deals with love, the lover, and the beloved, in the metre رمل. I saw a poem of this nature, dealing with these very subjects, in Kābul also. It is given towards the end of a Bedil's Kullīyāt, but it is in the metre هزج. Its author is some Munīr, and hence the poem's title has been given رسالۂ منیری. As regards the Masnavī spoken of by Ethe, I cannot say anything definitely because I have not seen it. For references see:

Catalogue of the India Office Library, Vol. II, Part VI, Persian Books.

Edwards, *A Catalogue of the Persian Printed Books in the British Museum*, p. 14.

Āzād, Muḥammad Ḥusain, *Nigāristān-e-Fāris*, p. 180.

Ethe, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, No. 1676.

Kullīyāt-e-Bedil, in Ma'ārif Library, Kābul, Scribe Mirzā Muḥammad 'Azīz son of Muḥammad Amīn.

Chapter VII. Prose Works : *Chahār 'Unṣur, Ruq'āt-e-Bedil, Nikāt, Biāẓ* (Anthology), and *Prefaces.*

Chapter VIII. Bedil's personality and poetic genius.

The verses about Shab-e-Barāt are not available in the Panjab, and I have already given a verse in Turkish language as a specimen. Hence these will not be discussed.

Before closing these introductory remarks I wish to guard against a possible misunderstanding. While going through the contents of different Dīwāns of Bedil found in the world, one comes across certain names of his works which have not been included in the list of the works given in the two preceding paragraphs. This does not mean that they are of spurious character. The fact, however, is that Bedil himself incorporated those pamphlets, etc., in one of his works or the other. Thus نغمه وحدت , فوائد خاموشی , سرمهٔ اعتبار , هجوم حیرت , بهارستان جنون and گدازی نامه , spoken of in the Kābul Museum Kullīyāt No. 33, can be seen in the Third Chapter of *Chahār 'Unṣur*[1] and in the Ruq'āt.[2] Moreover, the Kābul Museum Kullīyāt No. 52 speaks about a Maṣnavī مرآت‌الله by Bedil. This too has been given in toto in the Maṣnavī 'Irfān.[3]

1. *Chahār 'Unṣur, Kullīyāt-e-Ṣafdarī*, pp. 85, 92, 94, 97.
2. *Ruq'āt*, Nawilkishore Edition, pp. 15-17.
3. *'Irfān, Kullīyāt-e-Ṣafdarī*, pp. 14-35. Its first and last verses are :

ای حدوثت شعور اسم و صفات   قدمت حیرت تقدس ذات

کرد این جا فسانه‌ها کوتاه   معنی لا اله الا الله

CHAPTER IV

Ghazal of Bedil

BEDIL appeared at the stage when ghazal, the sweetest form of Persian poetry, had passed several stages in its evolutionary process. Originally, a part of the Qaṣīda, it assumed an independent position later on, and in the hands of Rūdakī and Daqīqī it was confined simply to earthly love. The social and cultural conditions began to change gradually and, with the passage of time, mysticism became popular in Muslim lands, and in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of the Christian era Sanā'-ī-'Aṭṭār, and Rūmī introduced the mystic element into Persian Ghazal. As these poets were inspired by Divine Love—a purer and more enduring passion—Ghazal assumed a sublimity and sweetness unknown before. Sa'dī (1184-1291 A.D.), the well-known master of Ghazal, sang about Divine Love, using common[1] similes and metaphors, and in such "a soft, refined, musical, and melodious way" that his lyrical poetry became universally popular in Muslim countries. It was Ḥāfiẓ (d. 1389 A.D.) in particular who imparted much-needed fervour and burning passion to Ghazal and, like Rūmī, expressed in it his metaphysical[2] views freely and very sweetly. This philosophic element got[3] a further impetus from the Ṣafwī Dynasty (A.D. 1500-1736) which took special pains to popularise speculative studies.

When the scope of Ghazal had been amply widened by these ardent poets, and, due to the changes in the cultural outlook of the people, erotic love, mysticism, philosophy, and moral and social values had become the subject-matter of Ghazal, Bābā Fighānī of Shīrāz (d. 925/1519) created a new[4] School of Poetry in the beginning of the Ṣafawī Period and poets followed him not only in Irān but also in India. Fighānī introduced conciseness and a novel intricacy with

1. Ḥālī, Alṭāf Ḥusain, *Ḥayāt-e-Sa'dī*, 100 (Persian trans. Sarush).

2. For Rūmī, see 'Abdul Ḥakīm Khalīfa, *Metaphysics of Rūmī*. For Ḥāfiẓ see Shiblī, *Shi'rul 'Ajam*, V, pp. 31-33.

3. Ibid., p. 57.

4. Wāla Dāghistānī, *Riāẓush Shu'arā*, Mss. fs. 109-a, B, 110-a ; Shiblī, *Shi'rul 'Ajam*, III, pp. 27-30 ; V, pp. 47-49.

greater emphasis on freshness of similes and metaphors. This school of Poetry was called Tāzagūī In India 'Urfī, Naẓīrī, Zuhūrī and other poets followed Fighānī; and this new element, in the hands of the Indian poets, evolved a unique finesse[1] and subtlety, not only in thought but also in expression. When Bedil was a child, Ghanī Kashmīrī (d. 1079/1668-9) and Ṣāib (d. 1080/1669-70) were further developing this Indian style in Persian verse, and they were very enthusiastic about original conceits, poetical aetiology, and aptness of illustration[2] (صنعت ارسال المرسل)—figures which require lofty imagination and larger exercise of intellectual effort.

Bedil inherited all these trends in Persian Ghazal; the evolution of this class of Persian verse was before his mental eye as a single developing creative process, and he, therefore, did not select for imitation any particular group of poets representing a particular style. This endowed him with comprehensiveness and a balanced attitude of mind. In him, therefore, we find elements of all styles and of all schools of thought prevalent in Persian literature. A man of fastidious tastes, and a voracious reader, he began his studies with Rūdakī and ended with Mullā 'Alī Razā Tājallī[3]—his contemporary, though much older in age. All the great poets of the intervening period, who left their mark in Persian literature, were eagerly studied by him, and in many cases he followed them not only in form but also in spirit, and we shall see that ultimately, after a successful imitation of the master-poets, he developed an original style on account of the loftiness of his thought and the vigour and originality of his mind.

We know,[4] when Mīrzā Qalandar, Bedil's uncle, heard two teachers of Bedil exchanging hot words between themselves, in the course of a discussion, he asked Bedil to leave the Maktab for good and to study the works of master-writers of prose and verse at home under his personal supervision. We also know that so long as Bedil was in Bihār, he wrote verse in the style of classical[5] poets. Researches have revealed the names of only a few poets he studied and followed because only scanty references are available. But if the references made by Bedil during the whole of his life are kept in view, and the accounts given by different Tazkirah-writers are minutely studied, we gather a fair crop of names which discloses Bedil's profound indebtedness to the classical writers of Persian. Bedil wrote a quatrain, in the form of a dialogue, imitating a similar quatrain

1. Shiblī, *Shi'rul 'Ajam*, V, pp. 53, 57.
2. Ibid., III.
3. See the succeeding paragraphs.
4. Page 10, supra.
5. Page 15, supra.

written by Rūdakī[1] seven centuries before him. He showed his preparedness to quote[2] 'Asjadī, Farrukhī, Mu'izzī, Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān, Khwāja Salmān, and other classical poets, when once Nāẓim Khān objected to the use of the idiom نمد باقی in Bedil's verse. He wrote his Maṣnavī 'Irfān in the style of Hadīqa[3] of Sanāī, and his famous ترجیع بند in imitation of the equally reputed[4] ترجیع بند of 'Irāqī. In his Qaṣāid Bedil followed Khāqānī, Amir Khusrau and others. Mīr 'Aẓmatullah Bilgrāmī tells us that Bedil recited the following couplet of Khāqānī :

همسایه شنید ناله ام گفت　　خاقانی را دگر شب آمد

[When the neighbour heard my cries, he said,
"Poor Khāqānī has to go through the ordeal of another night."]

when he (the Mīr) had a meeting[5] with him. For Anwarī, 'Aṭṭār, Sa'dī and Ḥafiẓ the following couplets of Bedil may be studied :

رفع انکار از نسب جویان معنی مشکل است
گو به قدرت انوری در معرفت عطار باش

———

از گل و سنبل به نظم و نثر سعدی قانعم
این طراوت در گلستان بیشتر دارد بهار

---

1. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 371. The quatrains are : Rūdakī.

آمد برمن که یار کی وقت سحر　　ترسید ز که زخصم خصمش که پدر
دادمش چه بوسه کجا برلب وبر　　لب بدنه چه عقیق چون بدچو شکر

["Came to Me." "Who ?" "Beloved." "When ?" "At dawn." "Was afraid."
"Of whom ?" "Of the enemy." "Which enemy ?" "Her father."
"I printed." "What ?" "A kiss." "Where ?" "On lips and breasts."
"Were they lips ?" "No." "What then ?" "Ruboies." "Their taste ?"
"Like honey."].

This quatrain, as we see, sang only of female love, but as Bedil was a mystic and was occupied with deeper thoughts, he spoke symbolically about matters of deeper significance :

دی خفت که ناقه در کجا خفت بگل　　کردم چه فغان از چه زیاد منزل
داد از که زخود چرا از سعئی باطل　　کافتاد چه بار از که سر بر که بدل

["Slept yesterday." "What ?" "Dromedary." "Where ?" "In the mire. I made." "What ?" "Cries." "Why ?" "I thought of my destination. I complain." "Against whom ?" "Against myself." "Why ?" "On account of my vain effort. Because fell." "What ?" "Burden." 'From where ?" "From the head." "On what ?" "On the heart."]

Khushgū adds that Sirāj-ud-Dīn Khān Ārzū liked Bedil's Rubā'ī very much.

2. Page 104, supra.
3. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 374.
4. Ibid.
6. Bikhabar, *Safīna-e-Bīkhabar*, Mss., f. 23-b. Āzād Bilgrāmi, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 316.

بیدل کلام حافظ شد هادیٔ خیالت
دارم امید کاخر مقصود من بر آید

In these verses Bedil praises Anwarī for his mastery over language, pays tribute to 'Aṭṭār for his mysticism, eulogises Sa'dī for his graceful expression, and acknowledges his indebtedness to Ḥāfiẓ for his thought-provoking poem. Again, Bedil compiled the gist[1] of 'Aṭṭār's *Taẕkiratul Auliyā*, his poetical title owed its origin to an inspiring hemistitch[2] of Sa'dī, and he wrote ghazals in imitation of Ḥafiẓ. I give below a few selected verses from two ghazals, one by Ḥāfiẓ and the other by Bedil, which show how far Bedil followed Ḥafiẓ.[3]

Ḥafiẓ

گر تیغ بارد در کوئی آن ماه　　گردن نهادیم الحکم لله
من رند و عاشق آنگاه توبه　　استغفر الله استغفر الله
آئین تقوی ما نیز دانیم　　اما چه چاره بابخت گمراه
ما شیخ و زاهد کمتر شناسیم　　یا جام باده یا قصه کوتاه
عاشق مخور غم گر وصل خواهی　　خون بایدت خورد درگه بیگه
حافظ نبودی زینگونه بیدل　　گرمی شنیدی پند نکو خواه

[If sword comes like rain in the street of that moonlike beauty,
We have bent our heads. God's will must prevail.
I am a lover and a debauchee, how can I repent ?
God forbid. God forbid.
We also know the canons of asceticism ;
But there is no help with the perverse Fate.
We are not acquainted with the priest or the holy man,
Either a cup of wine or nothing else.
O Lover ! Don't grieve. If you want union,
Take draughts of your heart's blood at all times.
Ḥāfiẓ, you would not have been so much disheartened,
If you had only given ear to the advice of the well-wisher.]

1. Page 26, supra.
2. Page 15, supra.
3. Sarkhush says in *Kalimatush Shu'arā* at page 15 that Bedil imitated a ghazal of Ḥāfiẓ with a change in rhyme and quotes Bedil's following verse in support :

در هائی فردوس وا بود امروز　　از بی دماغی گفتیم فردا

The concluding verse of Bedil's ghazal quoted here by me shows that it was written in Bedil's old age. Although Sarkhush went on making additions to his Taẕkirah till 1115 A.H., he does not appear to have seen this ghazal of Bedil. Here Bedil followed Ḥāfiẓ, using his metre and rhyme.

Bedil

بر شعله تا چند نازیدن کاه — در دولت تیر مرگیست ناگه
صد نقص دارد ساز کمالت — چندین هلال است پیش و پس ماه
دل صید عشق است محکوم کس نیست — الحکم لله و الملک لله
دنیا و دین کو شک و یقین کو — الله الله الله الله
عمری طپیدیم تا خاک گشتیم — فرسنگ ها داشت این یک قدم راه
بیدل چه نالم از یاس پیری — چون شمعم از صبح روز است بیگاه

[How long can the straw guard itself against the flame?
In the good luck of the arrow (of the beloved's bewitching glances) there is instantaneous death.
The instrument of perfection has a hundred defects.
There are so many crescents before and after the perfect Moon.
My heart is a prey to love, and is ruled by none else, (that is)
Allah's orders in Allah's land.
The world and the religion, doubt and faith have nothing to do here.
It is Allah and Allah alone that sways.
I fretted and fumed for ages and then changed into dust.
This passage equal to a pace was so many *parsangs* long.
Bedil, why should I weep on account of the disappointments of the old age?
Like that of the candle, my day from the very dawn was illomened.]

There are yet two more classical poets who can be mentioned here. In his *Muhīṭ-e-A'ẓam* Bedil is found seeking[1] inspiration from Rūmī, while, Bedil's *Ṭilism-e-Ḥairat* is written in the metre[2] of Jāmī's celebrated Masnavī *Yūsuf Zulaikhā*. Moreover, we know, whenever Niẓāmul Mulk went to see Bedil, books like *Nafḥāt* of Jāmī were presented[3] to him by Bedil. With Jāmī the classical poets come to an end, and we note they number 16.

As regards the poets of the later period, whether followers of Bābā Fighānī or the others, we can say authoritatively that Bedil made his knowledge of Persian verse quite up-to-date. Rieu,[4] while describing the anthology compiled by Mīrzā Bedil, says that it contains choice poems by a vast number of poets from the age of Khāqānī to the author's time. Several poets have thus been enumerated. Khushgū says[5] that he learnt the Dīwāns of the Tāzagū poets from

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, *Muḥīṭ-e-A'ẓam*, last page.
2. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 375.
3. Page 83, supra.
4. Rieu, *Catalogue of London Museum Persian Mss.*, under Nos. 16802 and 16803.
5. Page 86, supra.

Bedil. Also it has already been remarked[1] that Bedil mentioned many poets in the preface to his *Muhit-e-A'zam.* Most of them were Tāzagū poets, and I had occasion to speak about them in the beginning of the second chapter of this volume. From all these sources the names of the following additional poets have been gleaned :

> Hilālī (a poet of Bābur's times), 'Urfī (d. 999/1590-1), Zuhūrī (d. 1025/1616-7), Zulālī (d. 1031/1621-22), Ṭālib (d. 1036/1626-7), Jalāl Āsīr (d. 1049/1639-40), Shaidā (a poet of the times of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān), Qudsī (d. 1056/1646-7), Muḥammad Qulī Salīm (d. 1057/1647-8), Sālik (a poet of the days of Shāh Jahān), Ḥakīm Ruknā (d. 1066/1655-6), Ṣāmit (arrived in India in the days of Aurangzeb), Mīr Yaḥyā Kāshānī (d. 1074/1663-4), Ṣāib (d. 1080/1669-70), Nakhshabī, 'Abdul Aḥad Waḥdat, Mujrim, Muḥammad Sa'īd Ashraf (the teacher of princess Zebun Nisā); and Mullā 'Alī Raẓa Tajalī (d. 1088/1677-8).

The names of Ni'mat Khān 'Alī and Irādat Khān Wāẓiḥ have also been given by Rieu, but they were contemporaries of Bedil, and already a detailed list of the contemporary poets has been given in the third chapter. Finally, to a discerning reader it would have occurred that Naẓīrī (d. 1023 A.H.)—a tāzagū poet—has not been mentioned here. But I think the following couplet of Bedil :

دلیل مقصد مابسکه ناتوانی بود　　بهر کجا که رسیدیم گفت جا اینجاست

is an echo of this couplet of Naẓīrī.

زفرق تا بقدم هر کجا که می نگرم　کرشمه دامن دل می کشد که جا اینجاست

At the end of this paragraph I like to give another couplet by Bedil which again shows his regard for Ṣāib :

دعوی آسان کرد بیدل پیش موزونان هند
مصرعی چند فراهم کردن و صائب شدن

> [Before the Indian poets Bedil easily made a pretentious claim,
> That he will collect a few hemistitches and become equal to Ṣāib.]

We have seen above that the whole sweep of Persian verse, from Rūdakī down to his own times, was before Bedil's eyes. Rieu tells[2] that in his anthology Bedil has classed a vast number of poets according to the various styles of poetical composition. This shows that Bedil was fully conversant with the prominent traits found in the styles of each era and also of each poet. It is because of this

1. Page 33, supra.
2. Rieu, *Catalogue of London Museum Persian Mss.*, f. 737-a.

comprehensive and deep study of the masterpieces of Persian poets that Bedil has been able to combine in his verse all the good features of other master poets. Niāz Fataḥpurī, a modern critic, writes[1] that when we study Bedil we find in him all that is best in literature in such abundance that we need not study any other poet. This may be a hyperbolic admission of Bedil's greatness as a poet, but the fact remains that in his verse Bedil gracefully introduced all the salient characteristics of the great Persian poets. And, not content with what he had inherited from his predecessors, he made several improvements and enriched Persian literature in many ways. It was manifestly a gigantic effort, and he might have erred at some places, but this in no way detracts from the supreme value of the creative experience he had in his life. With this as background we proceed to consider Bedil's peculiarities as a writer of ghazals:

1. *Linguistic elegance* (حسن لفظی). Bedil's concern for the most appropriate, colourful, and polished words was noticed[2] in his lifetime by Shīr Khān Lodhī and Khushgū. In our own times Niāz Fataḥpurī, who has been quoted already, grows over-enthusiastic[3] in his praise for Bedil's linguistic elegance.

About this peculiarity, Bedil himself says:

با کلام آبدارت کی رسد لاف گہر
بیدل این جا اعتباری نیست حرف بستہ را

[How can the mere boasts of the pearl approach the brilliance of your words?
Bedil, the tied words have no value here.]

I give below instances to show Bedil's mastery in this respect:

هر برگ این چمن رقمی دارد از بہار　　عالم نگین تراشئی سودائی نام اوست

[Every petal in this garden has the writ of spring.
The world appeared from the scrapings of the gem of His Name's Love.]

چہ فلک چہ ذرہ ناتوان بہ هوائی شوق تو پرفشان
تو بہار و عالم رنگ و بو همہ آشیان ظہور تو

[Whether the lofty sky or the humble atom, everything flutters its wings in longing for you.
You are the spring, and this elegant and graceful world is the nest for your manifestation.]

2. *New compounds* (تراکیب تازہ). Concern for linguistic elegance naturally develops into a love for new compounds. 'Urfī and Naẓīrī

1. Niāz Fataḥpurī, *Maktūbāt*, I, p. 173.
2. Shīr Khān Lodhī, *Mir'ātul Khayāl*, p. 385. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 358.
3. Niāz Fataḥpurī, *Maktūbāt*, I, p. 119.

were famous[1] for coining fresh constructions. Bedil too enriched the language considerably by brilliant and graphic constructions. Instances:

شعلهٔ ادراک ، کشاد دو جهان ، تبسم پاشئی صبح ، نو بهار عشرت ، بهار آبرو ، کاروان درد ، سیل گفتگو، صدگل خنده، چمن پیکر ، حسن میگون، فلک شکوه، یک جهان آشفتگی ، بهار طرب ، درس حیرت پیام، لطافت بدوش ، گل پیکر ، سحاب مروت، محیط سخا، شعلهٔ اضطراب ۔

Notwithstanding the fact that Bedil has immensely enriched the language by his fresh compounds, some people of Īrān as well as of India, object[2] that here and there Bedil's compounds are uncolloquial. Āzād Bilgrāmī admits that: بلند طبع شناسد کلام بیدل را [A man of lofty nature alone can understand Bedil], but he joins these detractors, and says that in the following couplet:[3]

هر گه دو قدم خرام می کاشت از انگشتم عصا بکف داشت

Bedil's idiom خرام کاشتن is objectionable. Again Āzād Bilgrāmī says that in the following couplet[4] written by Bedil on the happy occasion of the marriage of Mīr Luṭfullah Khān:

اوقات سعادت دو کوکب شیرازهٔ اُلفت دو همزاد

the use of the word همزاد for the husband and the wife is not warranted. But Khān Ārzū has justified[5] such like innovations in his *Dād-e-Sakhun*. Khushgū, however, steers a midway course and says,[6] "Granted that at the most about one thousand couplets of Bedil are objectionable from this point of view, but what about the rest? Can someone favourably compete with him there?"

3. *Freshness of similes and metaphors.* All the Tāzagū poets showed taste and skill in finding fresh similes and metaphors. It is in the employment of these figures that Bedil's imagination is seen at its best. The following instances would suffice:

چیست این باغ و این شگفتنها سر آبی و سیر روغنها

[What is this garden and its blossoming?
—Only oil spilt on the surface of water.]

دل فرهاد آب تیغ کوه است سر مجنون گل دامان صحراست

[Farhad's heart is the splendour of the mountain's peak,
And the head of Majnūn is the flower in the Skirt of the Ṣaharā.]

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1. Shiblī, *Shi'rul 'Ajam*, III.
2. Ḥusain Qulī Khān, *Nishtar-e-'Ishq*, I, Mss., f. 203a-207a.
3. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Khazāna-e-'Āmirah*, p. 153.
4. Ibid., 166-7.
5. Khān Ārzū, *Majma'un Nafāis*, Mss., f. 56-a; Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Khazāna-e 'Āmirah*, p. 153.
6. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May, 1942, pp. 368-9.

4. *Division of verses,* having the same measure, sometimes mutually rhyming and at times rhymeless. This peculiarity lends sweetness, charm, and force and vigour to the verses, and is the result of perfect mastery over language. It is surprising that, in spite of these self-imposed limitations of rhyming parts and the measure, no superfluous word is found in Bedil's verses.

صف رنگ لاله لبم شکن ، متی جام گل بزمین فگن
به بهار دامن ناز زن ، زحنائی دست نگار ما

[Break the row of the tulip's colour, throw the cup of the rose down on the ground,
And strike the skirt of indifference against the spring, because of the dyed hands of our Beauty.]

خنده لبریز ملاحت ، جلوه مالا مال حسن   ناز سرشار جفاها ، غمزه مخمور عتاب

[My beloved has) smiles full of agreeableness, appearance rich in beauty,
Coquetry overflowing with molestation, and blandishment drunk with chiding.]

5. *Novelty of expression* (جدت بیان). By expressing common facts and ordinary ideas in a novel and unusual way, 'Urfī and Naẓīrī had lent elegance and fascination to their verse. Also sublimer thoughts were expressed in this manner and maximum effect was produced. Bedil too excelled in this respect :

همت من از نشان جاه چون ناوک گذشت
زین نگین نامم نگاهی بود کز عینک گذشت

[My highmindedness passed the mark of dignity like an arrow,
My name was a look which passed through this stone (نگین) as if it were spectacles.]

صد سنگ شد آئینه و صد قطره گهر بست
افسوس همان خانه خرابست دل ما

[A hundred stones turned into mirrors and numberless drops changed into pearls, but
Alas my heart is as desolate as ever.]

6. *Aptness of illustration* (مثالیه). Ṣāib in particular had wielded this figure with great dexterity. In it some theory is advanced in the first hemistitch which is supported by a very apt illustration in the second. This figure, herefore, can be usefully employed in didactic poetry and in establishing truths of eternal value. Ṣāib died[1] when Bedil was twenty-six years old. During his youth, therefore, Bedil was breathing in the society which was all praise for this figure and hence his fondness for it. There are very few Ghazals of Bedil

1. Page 32 supra.

in which at least one or two couplets are not couched in this figure. Bedil calls مثالیه a wave of subtlety موج نزاکت :

بیدل از هر مصرعه ام موج نزاکت می چکد
کرده ام رنگین بخون صید لاغر تیغ را

[Bedil, out of every hemistitch of mine a wave of subtlety trickles down,
I have dyed the sword with the blood of a lean prey.]

This verse occurs in a ghazal which overflows with this figure. Three couplets of this kind may now be studied:

از فریب مکر دنیا اهل ترک آسوده اند
دام راه تشنگان می باشد امواج سراب

[Those who have practised renunciation are reposeful in spite of the deceiving tricks of the world.
It is the thirsty people who are ensnared by the waves of the mirage.]

در بزمگاه عشق هوس را مجال نیست
تا شعله گرم جلوه شود دود جسته است

[Into the assembly of love sensuality has no access.
When the flame is hot in self-display, smoke leaps away.]

زیر گردون چون سحر دریک نفس گردیم پیر
می شود موی اسیران زود در زندان سفید

[Under the sky we grow old in a moment as the morning does.
True, the hair of the prisoners turn quickly grey, in the prison.]

7. *Poetical aetiology* (حسن تعلیل). In this figure facts and events are interpreted in such a manner that our curiosity is aroused. Bedil's contemporaries were very fond of it. The following two verses are cited as example from Bedil's Ghazals:

عمریست دل بغفلت خود گریه می کند
این نامه سیه چه قدر ابر رحمت است

[For long my heart has been weeping bitterly on account of its negligence.
This black document is in fact the vernal compassionate cloud.]

این قدر تعظیم نیرنگ خم ابروی کیست
حیرت است از قبله رو گرداندن محرابها

[For the elegant arch of whose eyebrows is there so much respect?
I am surprised to see the Mihrābs of the mosque turning their faces away from the Qibla.]

8. *Original and subtle conceits* (معانیٔ لطیف و مبتکر). Bedil is known for the success which his penetrating intellect attained in finding striking poetical thoughts. Āzād Bilgrāmī says[1] that from his early youth to the end of his life, Bedil consistently tried to produce ingenious thoughts. Sarkhush quotes[2] Bedil saying that with him (Bedil) versification was synonymous to finding original conceits. In his ghazals Bedil makes numerous references about his amazing skill in معنی آفرینی ; for example :

چنیں کز کلک بارنگ معانی می چکد بیدل
توان گفتن رگ ابر بهار این نا و دانهارا

بیدل از فطرت ما قصر معانیست بلند
پایه دارد سخن از کرسیٔ اندیشهٔ ما

می گذارد بر دماغ یک جهان معنی قدم
لغزشی کز خامهٔ تحریر من پیدا شود

معنیٔ برجسته شوقم نمی گنجم بلفظ
همچو بوئی گل نگردد پیرهن عریان مرا

نشستی عمرها حسرت، کمین لفظ پردازی
زخون گشتن زمانی غازه شو حسن معانی را

In these verses Bedil speaks boastfully about the grace which his conceits have. He claims that the grandeur of the ingenious thoughts in the world is simply due to his penetrating genius, and that he is so prolific in this respect that even a slip from his pen creates a world of such like thoughts. As he finds his mind overflowing with subtle and original conceits, he says that words are but poor vehicles for his thoughts and that they cannot contain them. Naturally enough, he exhorts himself to attend less to the words and to work with greater keenness for the glorification of the Ma'ānī. I will now quote verses to show Bedil's proficiency in this connection :

عمریست درین انجمن از ضعف دو تائیم
خلخال رسانید بپائی مگس از ما

[For long out of weakness my body has been bent in this world.

I may now be used as an anklet for the ankles of the fly.]

رگ گل آستین شوخی کمین صید ما دارد
که زیر سنگ دست ازمایهٔ رنگ حنا دارد

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1. Āzād Bilgrāmi, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 148.
2. Sarkhush, *Kalimātush Shu'arā*, p. 34.

[The mirthful beloved, whose sleeve is made of the tender arteries of rose, wants to capture me.
(But she is so delicate) that she would find her hand under the stone, on account of the shadow of hena's colour.]

Sometimes Bedil's conceits are so subtle that one is afraid they may evaporate if the slightest possible carelessness is shown :

مجو آوازهٔ شهرت زآهنگ سبکروحان
صدای بال مرغ رنگ نبود در پریدنها

[Do not seek the uproar of popularity from the symphony of nimble-spirited people.
When the bird of colour flies its wings make no noise.]

بیاد شبنم گلزار عارضت عمریست
خیال مشق شنامی کند بمشک گلاب

[In memory of the dew drops of the rose-garden of her cheeks, it is ages since
My thought has been floating in the sweet smell of rose-water.]

In these verses the ideas have been given a lifelike touch. Materialisation of the spiritual and the intellectual is one of the characteristics of Bedil. Moreover, we see that at times Bedil creates a conceit out of his own Takhalluṣ :

من و تاب وصال و طاقت دوری چه حرفست این
اسیری را که عشقت خواند بیدل دل کجا دارد

[How can I possess courage for union and strength for separation?
A captive who has been called Bedil (without-heart), how can he have *dil* (heart)?]

People have criticised Bedil by saying that sometimes he indulges in farfetched, insipid, or pedantic conceits, but so long as fancy has its value in literature, Bedil's conceits will not lose their flavour.

9. *Grace and fluency of language and fullness of expression.* If couplets of Bedil are selected and arranged under this heading, one is surprised to know how a poet celebrated for his conceits could impart such fluency and grace to his verse and how his language could be so richly eloquent. Not only selected verses but also many complete ghazals of Bedil possess this marvellous virtue. I would very much like to quote at length, but space does not permit :

نه بدامنی زحیا رسد نه بدستگاه دعا رسد
چو رسد به نسبت پارسه کف دست آبله دار ما

[Out of modesty it can neither reach the skirt nor have the strength to rise in prayer.
If my blistered hand at all can, it has relationship with the (beloved's) feet.]

گاه آهم می رباید گه اشکم می برد
تقد من یک مشت خاک و این همه سیلابها

[Sometimes sighs carry me off, and at times tears take me away.
I am but a handful of dust in the midst of so many storms.]

برگیست لبت از چمنستان تبسم   موجیست نگاه تو زعمان تغافل
گیسوی تو مد الف آیت خوبی — ابروی تو بسم الله دیوان تغافل

[Your lip is a petal from the garden of smiles, and
Your look is a wave from the Oman gulf of feigned negligence.
Your tress is the long-drawn letter Alif (الف) of the Ayat (verse) of fairness, and
Your eyebrows are the Bismillah (opening verse) of the Diwān of negligence.]

10. *Lyricism.* Ḥusain Qulī Khān, the author of the *Tażkirah Nishtar-e-'Ishq*, has collected those verses of every poet which speak of erotic love; but he complains[1] that Bedil's verses of this kind could not be found in sufficient numbers as his ghazals have only conceits. As already pointed out, Bedil is comprehensive, and, therefore, when we go through his ghazals, we come across a large number of verses which sing most charmingly of female love. There we find descriptions of the beauty points, of the lovely face and the tall and waving stature of the beloved. The same old topics of separation, union, envy, etc., have been re-stated by Bedil, using fresh similes and metaphors, of course with a deeper touch of emotion. Dr. Rieu[2] says that, in his *Biāz*, Bedil has given his own Masnavīs descriptive of female beauty, but unfortunately that *Biāz* is not available at present. I shall, however, quote relevant verses from Bedil's ghazals :

بهر کجا نازسر بر .رد نیازهم پای کم ندارد
تو و خرامی و صد تغافل من و نگاهی صد تمنا

1. Ḥusain Qulī Khān, *Nishtar-e-'Ishq*, MS. f. 207-b.
2. Rieu, *London Museum Catalogue of Persian Mss.* under Nos. 16802, 16803.

[Wherever coquetry appears, entreaties also are not absent,
You should walk gracefully with a hundred ways of figned negligence, and I would cast a look having a hundred supplications.]

دشنام ازان لعل شنیدم که مپرسید　　میخواست که سنگم زند آخر بگرزد

[Don't ask about the charm of the bad names I heard from those ruby lips.
My beloved wanted to stone me but instead threw pearls on me.]

هوا خواه تو دیدم هر کرا دیدم درین گلشن
زگل رنگ توبی جوشد زمل بوئی تو می آید

[It was your well-wisher, whomever I saw in this garden.
Your colour is seen boiling in the rose, and for smell the wine is indebted to you.]

It will be seen that these verses constitute best specimens of lyricism. When, however, lyricism begins to wane, Bedil's art steps in and makes up the deficiency. Then, as Niāz Fataḥpurī has pointed[1] out, a sweet and harmonious blending of Art and Lyricism takes place, and, although the emotional element has diminished, the verses are as fascinating as ever. For example:

باغی که بهارش همه سنگ است دل او
دشتی که غبارش همه آب است دل ما

[The garden, whose spring consists entirely of stone, is the beloved's heart; and
The Sahara whose dust is all water is our heart.]

Here the words باغ و دشت ، غبار و آب ، بهار و سنگ and سنگ و غبار, although contraries, have been brought together in such a way by the figure antithesis that we feel an irresistible charm.

11. *Sense of beauty* (احساس حسن). This sense is common to all poets, but only a few have distinguished themselves in this respect. Bedil appeared in India at a time when the Mughal Art was at full bloom, and its brilliance, grandeur, and grace had reached their climax in Shāh Jahān's architecture. Naturally his aesthetic taste developed, drawing sustenance from the colourful images he received while studying Persian poetry, which is rich in this taste, and also while travelling here and there and observing beautiful objects. There is no space here for a detailed discussion of his aesthetic taste, but very few poets in the world compare favourably with Bedil in this respect. He has an eye for the rich gorgeous colouring of the peacock, which he saw in hundreds near Mathura, and also he can

1. Niāz Fatahpuri, *Maktūbāt*, II, Nos. 106-109.

appreciate the light rainbow tints, which he observed now and again during the monsoon rains. Sometimes the intellectual has been beautifully brought down to the level of the sensible. A few verses of this nature may now be studied :

آمد زگلشن ناز آن جوهر تبسم   دل در کف تغافل گل بر سر تبسم

[From the garden of coquetry came that essence of smiles,
With heart on the palm of negligence, and over smiles the rose.]

خط آن لعل دود خرمن ما   رم آن چشم برق حاصل کیست

[The down on the ruby lip is the smoke of our harvest, but
Whose gain will the flash of that eye strike as lightning ?]

زخار هر مژه صد رنگ موج گل جوشد   بدیده گر گزر افتد خیال روئی ترا

[From the thorn of every eyelash a wave of flowers of variegated colour would burst,
If the thought of your face passes my eyes.]

بفکر تازه گویان گر خیالم پر تو اندازد   پر طاؤس گردد جدول اوراق دیوانها

[If my fancy casts only a reflection on the thoughts of Tāzagū poets,
The marginal lines on the leaves of their Dīwāns would change into peacock feathers.]

12. رعایت لفظی و معنوی. Comparison of the same words in different contexts producing some striking effect, or of the same ideas expressed in a different way or in an improved manner, is very much appreciated by the lovers of poetry.

In Bedil both of these peculiarities are found in their perfect form. He is very fond of using the word آئینه again and again. The following two couplets, having this word, have been regarded[1] the best in this connection :

یار در آغوش و نام او نمی دانم که چیست
سادگی ختم است چون آئینه برنسیان ما

[My beloved is in my arms, but I do not know her name.
Like the mirror my forgetfulness is beyond help.]

بدل نقشی نمی بندد که با وحشت نه پیوندد
نمی دانم کدا میں بی وفا آئینه چید اینجا

1. Niāz Fatahpuri, *Maktūbāt*, II, p. 131.

[No image is formed in the heart which does not betray fright.
I do not know which faithless person placed the mirror here.]

Another couplet of this type is still more attractive:

قاصد تا کنم از حسرت دیدار ایمائی   بحیرت می روم آئینه بر پیغام می بندم

[In order to give a hint to the messenger about my longing for the vision of the beloved,
I lapse into bewilderment and thus tie the mirror on the message].

As regards the same ideas expressed differently I quote below two verses about the winning ways of the beloved. See the improvement effected in the second verse.

آتش اگر زگرمیٔ خویت نشان دهد   انگشت زینهار کشد از دهانه ها

[If fire points to the warmth of your nature,
At the same time by its flames it raises a finger in caution.]

رو خون گشته' نیرنگ وضع ناز کیست   غمزه دارد دور باش و جلوه می‌گوید بیا

[My desire has been enchanted by the charming manners of whose coquetry?
Blandishments ask to keep away while the splendour of beauty invites to come nearer.]

13. *Pet words*. Like every poet, Bedil has some pet words. This peculiarity has been noted[1] by Qārī 'Abdullah Khān of Kābul also. The words are:

آئینه ' جوهر ' حیرت ' تحیر ' پری ' شیشه ' مینا ' سحر ' گریبان ' صبح '
نفس ' تعین ' رنگ ' شکست شرر ' آبله ' رگ خواب ' رگ سنگ ' دو عالم '
همه ' یک -

The last two words are particularly used in forming combinations.

14. *Pet metres*. In one of his letters we find Bedil asking one Mirẓā Fāẓil for a Persian violin.[2] Moreover, one of his closest associates, Shāikh Sa'dullah Gulshan, was an expert musician,[3] and also his favourite pupil, Aḥmad 'Ibrat, belonged[4] to a family of professional singers. This shows Bedil's interest in music and melody. It is because of this that he seems to have taken pains for imparting rythm and melody to his verses. As in Bedil's ghazals the sound of

1. Qārī 'Abdullah Khān, *Adabīyāt*, p. 178.
2. Bedil, *Ruqa'āt*, p. 90.
3. Shīr Khan Lodhī, *Mir'atul Khayāl*, pp. 372-3.

words comes to its full power, the Qawwāls, especially in Afghānistān, are heard singing his ghazals in convivial meetings or sober assemblies and also on the radio, and a magical effect is produced.

When Bedil was so particular about the sounds of the words used in his verses, it was quite natural if he developed an interest for metres suiting different occasions. Khugshu says[1] that Bedil successfully manipulated all the metres given in the books on Prosody. But here also Bedil's preference for the longer metres, which were popular with the Arabs, though the Persians rarely employed them, earned a name for him. Inspired by Bedil other poets also turned their attention towards these metres, and we see Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusain Kalīm—an Urdu poet—cultivating longer metres in imitation[2] of Bedil. Abul Kalām Āzād, a modern scholar of Urdu, becomes voluble when he speaks[3] about the longer metres of Bedil. It is a fact that when we read and recite Bedil's ghazals in these metres, a tide of excitement runs through mind, and, in the words[4] of Richards, there is a cyclic agitation which spreads all over the body. A careful reader will also note that, in spite of the length of the metres, there is nothing redundant in the verses. The metres are:

(i) بحر کامل مثمن—the perfect octametre.

تو کریم مطلق و من گدا چه کنی جز این که نخوانیم
در دیگری بنما که من بکجا روم چو برانیم
متفاعلن متفاعلن متفاعلن متفاعلن

(ii) بحر متدارک—the continuous metre. It is called کفش الخیل (the prancing of horses) and صوت الناقوس (the bell's sound) also. It has eight feet in each hemistitch.

چه بود سروکار غلط سبقان در علم و عمل بفسانه زدن
زغرور دلائل بی خردی همه تیر خطا به نشانه زدن
فعلن فعلن فعلن فعلن فعلن فعلن فعلن فعلن

(iii) بحر مطوی مثمن—the folded octametre.

منفعلم بر که برم حاجت خویش از بر تو
ای قدمت بر سر من چون سر من بردر تو
مفتعلن مفتعلن مفتعلن مفتعلن

(iv) بحر خفیف مثمن—the light octametre.

به تماشائی این جهان در مژگان دراز کن
زخمستان عافیت قدحی گیر و ناز کن
فعلاتن مفاعلن فعلاتن مفاعلن

1. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 376.
2. Qāsim Qudratullah, *Majmū'a-e-Naghz*, II, p. 140.
3. Mīr Taqī, *Nikātush Shu'arā*, p. 45.
4. Abul Kalām Azād, *Ghubār-e-Khāṭir*, p. 41.
5. Richards, I.A., *Principles of Literary Criticism*, p. 140.

(v) بحر متقارب—the convergent metre. It has eight feet in one hemistich.

اگر جہاں جملہ لقمہ زائد زفکر جوع تو برنیاید
مگر چو آماج لب کشاید زعضو عضوت خدنگ خوردن
فعول فعلن فعول فعلن فعول فعلن فعول فعلن

Here فعول and فعلن, two deviations of the original فعولن, have been employed.

15. *Abstruseness of his verses.* As Bedil condenses a broad idea in a single verse, some relevant pieces are left out which Bedil expects the reader would think out for himself. In this couplet:

میرود از موج برباد فنا نقش حباب
تیغ خونخوار است بیدل چین پیشانی مرا

Bedil likens himself to حباب, and the frowns of his beloved to موج, but as there is no clear indication, it is not very easy to comprehend this relation. Sometimes the correlated phrases in a verse are placed at a distance from one another. Again at times Bedil's conceits are far-fetched and his language is not colloquial. All these factors taken together make many verses of Bedil obscure and abstruse,[1] and in some cases his verses become absolutely incomprehensible. I give below a few verses which are not at all intelligible.[2]

در مزاج دانه آماده است تاثیر زمین
حیز کم پیدا شود گرزن نزاید مرد را

حیات دهر و حواس. خلائق آئینه دارد
که ایں هوسکده نزدیک شش است دو پنجش

عمریست گرمئ قدحش باده پرور است
شیری که چون سحر به نفس سرد می کنم

In view of the abstruseness caused in some of Bedil's verses, owing to the various factors mentioned above, some eminent Taẕkirah-writers have suggested that someone, well versed in Persian literature, should prepare a selection[3] of Bedil's verses avoiding all those couplets which have objectionable elements. Āzād Bilgrāmī says that if such a selection is made a very elegant and highly fascinating collection of Persian verse would be obtained.

16. *Dotless ghazals.* Some letters[4] as well as Ghazals of Bedil are dotless. Although their number is small, yet they show Bedil's mastery in this figure. The grace and fluency of the verses is

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1. Qārī 'Abdullah Khān, *Adabiyāt*, p. 176.

2. In the library of Ḥāfiẓ Nūr Muḥammad at Kābul, a large number of such like verses have been collected.

3. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 150, *Khazāna-e-'Āmirah*, p. 153; Qārī 'Abdullah Khān, *Adabiyāt*, p. 181; Wāla-e-Dāghistānī, *Riāzush Shu'arā*, Mss.

4. Bedil, *Ruq'āt*, Lucknow edition.

particularly noteworthy:

که دهد مصالح کام دل که بدد گر گل طالعم
سحر اردمد ردد آورد عسل اردهد همه سم رسد

دل آواره ام طور رم آسودهٔ دارد
اگر گرد ملال آورد صحرارا ارم کردم

17. *Several Ghazals in the same measure having the same rhyme.* Mullā Zuhūrī was in the habit of showing[1] his mastery over language by writing more than one mutually rhyming Ghazals in the same metre. Similarly, Bedil too displayed his superior skill by writing two to five[2] Ghazals of this kind. It is noteworthy that almost every Ghazal of this kind maintains its independence from the point of view of emotional, ideational, or literary content.

18. *Consistency in thought.* Although originally Ghazal was a part of the Qaṣīda and had continuity and harmony, yet, when separated, it became a jumble of incongruous couplets. Love and enmity, joy and sorrow, union and separation, good luck and misfortune, in short, all the discordant ideas were expressed, of course with the necessary change in emotion, in the same Ghazal. This made it absolutely unnatural. Sa'dī observed this defect in Ghazal and introduced[3] consistency. Amīr Khusrau, Naẓīrī, and Zuhūrī followed[4] him. Bedil too wrote a large number of Ghazals, having singleness of purpose, which can be seen in his Dīwān.

19. *Prolificness.* We have seen above the extent of Bedil's dominion over verse from the literary point of view. Apart from the quality of his Ghazals, their quantity also is surprising. Sher Khān Lodhī, the author of *Mir'atul Khayāl,* writing in 1102 A.H., said[5] that Bedil's Dīwān had 20,000 couplets. Sarkhush compiled his *Kalimatush Shu'arā* in 1093 A.H., but kept[6] replenishing it till 1115 A.H. He says that Bedil is a boundless ocean (بحر بی ساحل) and that only the ردیف میم of his Dīwān has 5,000 verses. Khushgū wrote his *Safīna* after Bedil's death and there we learn that Bedil's Ghazals have[7] in all about 55,000 couplets. This shows Bedil's prolificness, and at the same time we incidentally learn that the most productive period of Bedil's life was after 1102 A.D. (1690-1 A.D.).

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1. Āzd Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 150.
2. Qārī 'Abdullah Khān, *Adabīyāt*, p. 182.
3. Ḥālī, *Ḥayāt-e-Sa'dī*, pp. 95-107.
4. Wahed Mirzā, *Life and Works of Khusrau*, p. 206.
5. Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mir'ātul Khayāl*, p. 385.
6. Sarkhush, *Kalimātush Shu'arā*, p. 14.
7. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 376.

From the foregoing statement of the peculiarities of Bedil we come to know that he had a wonderful mastery over language, his creative imagination made an elegant contribution to Persian literature—a contribution whose freshness can never fade—and that Sabuk-e-Hindī, the style developed in India by the Persian poets, reached the *acme* of perfection in Bedil's hands. These facts have been noted by various scholars of repute and they, therefore, consider him one of the master-poets of Persian. His friends as well as his rivals and detractors share this view. Sarkhush, Bedil's rival, says,[1] "Bedil is a master, of the Art." Khushgu[2], Bedil's friend and pupil, writes, "In this Art Bedil is one of those master-poets, who have a style of their own." And again, "Bedil stands peerless in creating a style." Anand Rām Mukhliṣ was a very learned pupil of our poet. He says,[3] "Bedil has adorned the page of Time with verses of all kinds and very subtle figures. Everywhere the people talk about him and he is known in all the lands. It is a fact that, after Amīr Khusrau of Dehlī no poet was born in India who could match Bedil."

These were contemporaries. After Bedil's death many Tazkirahs were written and all the writers paid equally glowing tributes to him. Āzād Bilgrāmī, in his *Sarw-e-Āzād* as well as in his *Khazāna-e-'Āmirah*, praises[4] Bedil wholeheartedly. He accords him a lofty position in verse and says none has the requisite mental vigour to compete with Bedil. He eulogises Bedil in a couplet too :

رساند پایهٔ معنی با سمان نہم   بلند طبع شناسد کلام بیدل را

[He raised the rank of conceits to the ninth heaven
Only a high-minded person can appreciate Bedil's verse.]

If the views of all the Tazkirah-writers are given the attempt will result in tedious and monotonous details. I would, therefore, give here only the translation of what the author of *Chamnistān-e-Shua'rā*, writing in 1175 A.H. (1761-2 A.D.), said[5] about Bedil's Art. He has beautifully summed up all that the others say in this connection :

"Abdul Qādir Bedil is a Mānī who paints the Arzhang of conceits, and a Euclid who works magic in verse. The East of subtle thoughts has been eternally illuminated by the resplendent Sun of his genius, and the orchard of sweet discourse has been lavishly adorned by the melody of his wit which, like the nightingale, recites a thousand tales. The eye of the mean Time has not seen such a majestic person of refined ideas, although it has the torch of the Sun in its hands; and also the azure sky has not heard about

1. Sarkhush, *Kalimātush Shu'arā*, p. 14.
2. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May and July 1942.
3. Mukhliṣ, Anand Rām, *The page written in his hand*, f. 1.
4. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 148 ; *Khazāna-e-'Āmirah*, pp. 152, 153.
5. Shafīq, Lachhmī Narain, *Chamnistān-e-Shu'arā*, p. 43.

such a sweet-tongued seeker of conceits although there exist the planets as its ears. It is befitting if I call his genius the spring of life, because verse owes its life to it; and it is right if I consider his pen to be a vernal cloud, because every dot in his writings is superior to the pearls. In fact in the territories of India such an accomplished poet has never been born, and the brush of the Whyless Painter has not so far portrayed the match of this captivating seeker of thoughts."

From these remarks it is apparent what a unique position Bedil has in Persian literature. His consummate creative powers have after all been recognised in Iran too. Dr. Raẓā Zāda Shafaq says,[1] "Bedil is the last renowned Indian poet of genius. In fact in the mystic Ghazals, in elegant verse, and in the Maṣnavī he has shown prefect skill and has placed before us the best model of Indian style (سبک شناسی)." Bedil's own opinion, about his style, would be of infinite interest at the close of this discourse. He says :

مدعی در گذر از دعوی طرز بیدل سحر مشکل که بکیفیت اعجاز رسد

[O Pretender ! give up your claims to Bedil's style.
It is impossible for the magic to have the qualities of a miracle.]

With such a high opinion about his style, he hopes he will enjoy everlasting fame :

سخن تا در جهان باقیست از معدومی آزادم
زبان گفتگوها بال پرواز است عنقا را

[So long as verse lives in the world I cannot cease to exist, for
The tongue of discourses serves as the wing for the flight of the Phoenix.]

So far we were concerned only with the literary side of Bedil's Ghazals. We should now try to find out the basic idea round which his entire verse revolves. The entire life-story of Bedil is before our eyes and we know that he was out and out a mystic fired with Divine Love. In his childhood he lived in the society of mystics and learnt the Secrets of the Path from them. When he was grown up and he left his home-province Bihār for Shāh Jahānābād, he came in contact with 'Āqil Khān Rāzī and Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, who were mystics,[2] and who had a thorough knowledge of the Maṣnavī of Rūmī. We also know about Bedil's fondness[3] for Sanāī, 'Aṭṭār, Rūmī, Sa'dī, 'Irāqī, Ḥāfiẓ and Jāmī—the great mystic poets. In addition to this Dr. Rieu tells us that in the *Biāẓ* of Bedil, in the London Museum, the tract,

1. Shafaq, Dr. Raẓa Zāda, *Tārīkh-e-Adabīyāt-e-Īrān*, p. 179.
2. Pages 45 and 84, supra.
3. Pages 183-6, supra.

Zādul 'Ārifīn by Khwājal 'Abdullah Anṣārī, is given in six Bābs (chapters). Khwāja Ṣāḥib is known in particular for his Munājāt or supplications, which he makes in all humility to God the Almighty. The influence of these supplications on Bedil is manifest from his Ghazal beginning with the following verse:

تو کریم مطلق و من گدا چه کنی جز این که نخوانیم
در دیگری بنما که من بکجا روم چو برا نیم

[You are Generous Absolute, O God, and I am a beggar.
Do nothing except calling me. Or,
Show me the door whither I should turn if You drive me away.]

Moreover, the great al-Ghazālī, whose philosophic[2] type of mysticism and sincerity appeal alike to the intellectual type and the common-folk, also counts[3] among the mystic writers who have influenced Bedil. The cumulative effect of all this was that mysticism became the life-blood of Bedil and his basic sentiment was love for God. He says:

بی زمزمهٔ حمد تو قانون سخن را افسرده چو خون رگ تار است بیانها

[Without the hymn in Your praise O God, the dulcimer of verse
Shall produce a melancholy note from its strings.]

Bedil's verse is thus quite lifeless, if he does not sing in love and praise of God.

Like all Ṣūfīs, Bedil starts with a purification of his soul, and, as a preliminary to his love for God, he wants to purge himself of all other love. As a consequence he has no love for the world and its objects, for the family or a dwelling, and even for his own person:

دل اگر در جهد کوشد مفت احرام صفاست
هم بقدر صیقل است آب وضو آئینه را

[If the heart tries it can quite easily have the pilgrim's garb of purity.
According to the degree of its polish, the mirror has water for ablutions.]

تا صافی دلت غم اسباب می کشد
آئینه صندلی کن و از درد سر برآمد

1. Tābinda Ganabadi, *Rasā'il by Kh. 'Abdullah Anṣārī* Preface, pp. ب to یه; Browne, E. G., *Literary History of Persia*, II, pp. 269-72. Shaikhul Islām Khwāja 'Abdullah Anṣārī (396-481 A.H.) of Herāt was a descendant of Ayyūb Anṣārī, the famous companion of the Holy Prophet (peace be on him). The Khwāja was a celebrated mystic and author of several works.

2. Smith, M., *Al-Ghazālī*, p. 227.

3. Page 119, supra.

[As your heart is impure you grieve about the goods
Polish your mirror with sandal and be relieved of the headache.]

عیش ترک خانمان از مردم آزاد پرس
کس نداند جز صدا قدر شکست شیشه را

[About the joy of renouncing the abode ask of the free people.
None but the sound knows the value of the breaking of a mirror.

جوهر تجرید ترک الفت خویش است و بس
بر سر خود می توان کرد امتحان شمشیر را

[Nothing but renunciation of love for one's self is the substance of contemplative abstraction.
The sword should be tested on one's own head.]

The considerations of the Ka'ba or the monastery, of the rosary and the girdle, of the faith and infidelity, and of the hell and the paradise no longer detain him, for he is enamoured only of God, and ardently desires to have His Vision :

اگر از دیر و ارستیم شوق کعبه پیش آمد
تگ‌وپوی نفس یارب کجا هامی برد مارا

[If we got freedom from the monastery, love of Ka'ba attracted us.
O God, where does the striving of self lead us to ?]

گر از زنار و ارستیم فکر سجه پیش آمد
نفس مصروف چندین ریشه دارد تخم آدم را

[Having been freed from the girdle, regard for the rosary detained us.
Life keeps the son of Adam busy with so many strings.]

بی نیازی از تمیز کفر و دین آزاد بود
از کجا جوشید یا رب اختراع ننگ ها

[Indifference made no distinction between infidelity and faith.
From where, O God, the invention of false honour came into being ?]

جلوه مشتاقم بهشت و دوزخم منظور نیست
میروم از خویش در هر جا که می خوانی مرا

[I am anxious for the vision. I care not for the paradise and the hell.
Wherever You call me, I absorb myself in Thy contemplation.]

Sorrows and pleasures do not affect him. Honour and dishonour have

no significance for him. He would rather prefer dishonour[1] because it helps annihilate the evil self in him. And in him all the world passions and desires are extinguished :

رنج و غم شادی مبر کو مطرب و کو نوحه گر
مشت سپند بیخبر دارد دریں مجمر صدا

[Sorrows and pleasures should not influence you, for where is the minstrel or the mourner ?
Only a handful of ignorant wild rue is making noise in the censer.]

مجو آوازهٔ شهرت ز آهنگ سبک روحان
صدای بال مرغ رنگ نبود در پریدنها

[Do not seek the uproar of popularity from the symphony of nimble-spirited people.
When the bird of colour flies, its wings make no noise.]

نگین شهرتی می خواست اقبال جنون من
زچندیں کوه کردم منتخب سنگ ملامت را

[The height of my madness wanted the rich stone of popularity.
Out of so many hills I selected the stone of dishonour (blame).]

گر آرزو شکند می شود عمارت دل
شکست موج بود باعث بنائی حباب

[If the desires fade away, the edifice of heart is built.
The breaking of the wave creates the bubble.]

All these were stages of passing away (فنا). After self-surrender self-devotion begins and our Ṣūfī devotes himself exclusively to God. Concentration upon the thought of God engenders bewilderment (حیرت) and this absorbs him completely. Although at this stage there is some sadness and anxiety, yet earlier excessive crying and violent agitation is gone, for the lover's gaze is now fixed on the beauty of the Absolute and he has been given access to the hidden secrets.

سر سودائی ما را غم دستار کی پیچد
که همچون غنچه از بویت بطوفان می رود سرها

[Our melancholy heads are not perplexed by the worries of turban ;
For, like the bud, by Your smell our heads have gone stormy.]

1. Hujwiri, Sayyid 'Alī, *Kashful Mahjūb* (Trans. Nicholson), pp. 62-69. It is a chapter on blame propounding the theory, that "Blame has a great effect in making love sincere." Reference to *malāmat* (blame) in these verses shows that Bedil belonged to the sect of the *malāmatīs*.

درچار سوئی دهر گذر کرد خیالت
لبریز شد از حیرت آئینه دکانها

[Your thought went through the four corners of the world, and
The shops have thus been filled by the bewilderment of the mirrors.]

نسبت آئینه از ما قطع کردن مشکل است
حسن تا آئینه دارد حیرت آبادیم ما

[It is impossible to end our relation with the mirror.
So long as the Beauty has mirror, we are filled with bewilderment.]

سیماب را زآئینه پای گریز نیست
دارد تحیرم به قفس اضطراب را

[Quicksilver cannot separate itself from the mirror.
My bewilderment, therefore, has restlessness in the cage.]

طپیدن راه ندارد در تجلی گه حیرانی
توان گر پائی تا سر اشک شد نتوان چکید اینجا

[Agitation has no access to the illuminated place of bewilderment.
Even if you completely change into tears, you cannot drop here.]

در بیابان تحیر نم ز چشم ما مخواه
بی نیاز از اشک می دان دیدهٔ تصویر را

[In the wilderness of bewilderment do not expect moisture from us.
The eye of the portrait is indifferent to tears.]

ای زشوخیهائی حسنت محو پیچ و تابها
حیرت اندر آئینه چون موج در گردابها

[On account of the gaiety of your beauty agitation of the heart is no more.
Bewilderment in the mirror is like the wave in the flood.]

از حیرت دل بند نقاب تو کشودیم
آئینه گری کار کمی نیست درینجا

[With the bewilderment of the heart we united the strings of your veil.
Here making a mirror is not an ordinary job.]

In this state of mind our Ṣūfī passes away from action, because it is only humility and resignation that pay :

بلند است آنقدرها آشیان عجز ما بیدل
که بی سعئی شکست بال و پر نتوان رسید اینجا

[So elevated is the nest of my helplessness, O Bedil !
That it is impossible to reach it without breaking the wings.]

عزت طلبی ، جوهر تسلیم بدست آر
این جا خم طاعت شکن طرف کلاهی است

[If you want honour catch hold of the pearl of resignation.
Here bending in prayer amounts to a proud plait in a side of the cap.]

Out of the hundred and one problems of mysticism, so profusely and sweetly dealt with by Bedil, I have given hints only about a few. Verses from his Ghazals about the states and stages (احوال و مقامات,)[1] the necessity of فقر[2] and the superior status of اهل فقر, the Unitive state when everything other than God appears as an illusion, and other questions relating to mysticism, can be easily collected in large numbers, but an exhaustive treatment of the subject is not the object of this treatise, and I, therefore, pass on to another topic.

Bedil flourished at the time when the ascetic quietism of the earlier Ṣūfīs had long changed into a theosophic doctrine of mysticism. Al-Ghazzālī and Rūmī, who influenced Bedil to a great extent, were both representatives[3] of this type of mysticism. In addition to these two thinkers, Ibn al-'Arabī (560-638 A.H./1164-1240) also has inspired Bedil. Khushgū says[4] that most of the propositions dealt with by Ibn al-'Arabī[5] in his *Fuṣūṣul Ḥikam* (The Bezels of Divine Wisdom) were expressed again in detail by Bedil. On the other hand, we observe another very important circumstance which influenced Bedil considerably. Only a few years before the birth of our poet, religious thought in India had been completely revolutionised by Mujaddid-e-Alf-e-ṡānī Shaikh Aḥmad Sirhindi (971-1034 A.H./1563-1624 A.D.) who had taught beyondness[6] of God in opposition to the pantheism of Ibn al-'Arabi. As Bedil lived in the society where teachings and stories of the Mujaddid were still fresh, he imbibed the spirit of the Great Reformer. Shaikh Sa'dullah Gulshan,

1. احوال (States) : Meditation, nearness to God, love, fear, hope, longing, intimacy, tranquillity, contemplation, and certainty.

مقامات (Stages) : Repentence, abstinence, renunciation, poverty, patience, trust in God, and satisfaction.

See Nicholson, *Mystics of Islam*, pp. 28, 29.

2. فقر Means supreme indifference to the rewards the world has to offer. Nay, it goes even a step further. It includes indifference to the rewards of the next world also.

3. For Al-Ghazālī see Smith, M., *Al-Ghazalī*, p. 227. For Rūmī see Khalifa 'Abdul Ḥakīm, *Metaphysics of Rūmī*.

4. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 368.

5. Ibn al-'Arabī believed in Pantheism, see Maulvi Husaini, *Ib al-'Arabī*, pp. 51-75 ; Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, some notes on the *Fuṣūṣul Ḥikam*.

6. Fārūqī, *The Mujaddid's Conception of Tawhid*, pp. 79-91.

a close associate of Bedil, was a disciple[1] of Shāh Gul—a descendant of the Mujaddid. If nothing else, this fact alone is sufficient to confirm the statement made here. Side by side with this, the following verses of Bedil reveal that he had a high opinion about Plato and Ibn e Sīnā (Avicenna):

نخواند طفل جنون مزاجم خطی زپست و بلند هستی
شوم فلاطون سلک دانش اگر شناسم سراز کف پا

لاف دانش جز به سعئی جاه نتوان پیش برد
بو علی هم شهرت علم از کر و فر یافته

From what I have said in this paragraph, one arrives at the conclusion that, to comprehend Bedil's mystical thought properly, one must be conversant with the fundamentals and the evolution of the theosophic element in mysticism and philosophy of Islam. A study of the Ghazals of Bedil shows that, as usual, he has much to say about these topics, but again no detailed treatment of them can be undertaken in these pages, and I would, therefore, be content with a few remarks only.

In his Metaphysics Bedil starts with Primeval Unity and talks of creation in the form of emanation. According to the following famous tradition of the Prophet (peace be on him):

کنت کنزاً مخفی فاحببت ان اعرف فخلقت الخلق

[I was a hidden Treasure, and I desired to be known, so I created the creation.]

Absolute Beauty manifested itself in creation. The tradition, therefore, talks of emanation and emphasises the spontaneous[2] bursting forth of being. Bedil also contributes to this view:

در آن زمان که نبود از زمانه آثاری   برون علم و عیان بود ذات او تنها
نه در حقیقت بحتیتش خیال شیون   نه بر صحیفه ذاتیتش خط اسماء
بخویشتن نظری کرد و خود بخود بنمود   حقیقت همه اشیاء بذات خود یکجا
بصد هزار نظر شد بحسن خود ناظر   بصد هزار طلب گشت خویش را جویا
بشوق عرض کمالات معنیٔ اسرار   زکتم غیب خرامید جانب صحرا

[When as yet there was no sign of Time,
Beyond the knowledge and the Manifestations only His Essence existed.
Neither in His Pure Reality was there any thought of Attributes,
Nor on the book of His Essence was there the writing of Names.
He looked within Himself, and showed to Himself
The potential reality of all things existing in His Essence.

1. Āzād Bilgrāmi, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, pp. 193-9; Sarkhush, *Kalimātush Shu'arā*, p. 96.

2. Khalifa 'Abdul Ḥakim, *Metaphysics of Rumi*, p. 31, footnote.

He looked at His own Beauty with a hundred thousand eyes, and
With a hundred thousand longings wanted to find Himsef.
With a desire to show the prefection of the meaning of mysteries,
Ha walked gracefully towards the Sahara from the cover of the unseen.]

The last verse in particular underlines pantheism. In these verses we see that the poet's imagination is boldly at work in expounding his Theory of Creation, and whenever and wherever Bedil speaks about it he makes similar bold expressions rich in detail. We know that the Neoplatonists[1] in their attempt to give a unified cosmic order enunciate the Theory of Emanation, which means light emanating from a luminous body or water overflowing a cup, and in this connection they talk about the Universal Intellect. The following couplet of Bedil shows that he too was conversant with the Universal Intellect :

با هر کمال اندکی آشفتگی خوش است
هرچند عقل کل شده ای بی جنون مباش

[With every perfection, there must be some agitation of love.
Although you have become the Universal Intellect, don't be without madness.]

Ibn Sīna too, in connection with his cosmological order, discusses[2] Intellects and Heavens, and we know Bedil had much regard[3] for his philosophy.

On the one hand Bedil believed in Pantheism—perhaps owing to his studies of Ibn al-'Arabī and Neoplatonism, through translations or commentaries, and on the other hand he talks most emphatically about the Transcendence of God. It is here that we can trace the influence of Mujaddid-e-Sirhindī, who, as stated already, believed in the Transcendent God. A perusal of the following verses of Bedil will show that, like[4] the Mujaddid, he thinks God is unapproachable, inexperienceable, inexplicable, and unknowable :

1. Armstrong, *The Intelligible Universe in Plotinus*, pp. 49-64.

2. Tūsī, Naṣīrud Din, *Sharḥul Ishārātl*, pp. 263-281 ; Jamīl Ṣaliba, *Ibn Sina*, 102-110 ; Faẓal Ḥaq, *Tajalliyāt-e-Ibn Sina*; p. 174. According to this Theory, God created the First Intellect. This Intellect created the Second Intellect and the first Heaven and so on to the tenth Intellect and the nineth Heaven. The last or the Active Intellect then created the world.

3. Page 154 supra.

4. Fārūqī, *the Mujaddid's Conception of Tawhid*, pp. 79-94.

خیال وصل تو پختن دلیل غفلت ماست
کتان چه صرفه برد در قلمرو مهتاب

[To cherish a desire for union with you is a sign of our ignorance.
What benefit can linen derive from the moonlit domain.]

با که باید گفت بیدل ماجرای آرزو
آنچه دل خواه منست از عالم ادراک نیست

[Whom should I tell, O Bedil, the nature of my desire?
What my heart desires lies beyond the range of human perception.]

بیدل ره حمد از تو بصد مرحله دور است
خاموش که آوارهٔ وهم اند بیانها

[O Bedil, the path of Divine praise is far from you by a hundred stages.
Be silent, because all expressions are simply the creations of fancy.]

آن کیست شود محرم اظهار و خفایت
آئینهٔ خویشند عیانها و بیانها

[Who can know your known or unknown secrets?
What is manifest or what is hidden does only mirror itself.]

In the face of Immanence and Beyondness of God expressed by Bedil in his Ghazals, we are forced to the conclusion that, like[1] Rūmī and Ghazzālī, he believed in Panentheism[2] a theory which conceives of an all-embracing Divinity "in whom we live and move and have our being."

These were Bedil's speculations about the relation of creation to God. We should now consider in brief how Bedil philosophises about Divine Love. Bedil says this love is due to the beauty of the Absolute, which, according to the Qur'ānic verse (lv. 29):

کل یوم هو فی شان

is every day, nay every moment, displayed in a fresh glory:

هر نفس صد رنگ می گیرد عنان جلوه اش
تا کند شوخی عرق آئینه می ریزد حیا

[Every moment a hundred hues hold the reins of His Beauty.
When face of His Vivacity has perspired, the mirror sheds modesty.]

And this love is Universal:

آتش پرست شعلهٔ اندیشه ات جگر — آئینه دار داغ هوائیتو سینه ها

1. Khalifa 'Abdul Ḥakim, *Metaphysics of Rumi*, p. 177; Iqbal, *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, p. 73; Smith, *Al-Ghazali*, p. 234.
2. Nicholson, R.A., *The Idea of Personality in Sufism*, p. 27; Krause, in *Metaphysics of Rumi*, p. 161, footnote.

[The liver is the worshipper of the fiery flame of thought about you, and
The breasts mirror the heart-sore formed in your love.]

The fire of love when once kindled in a heart is never extinguished. The excitement and restlessness of the lover is everlasting, and the lover himself is made immortal by this undying burning of the heart :

داغ عشقم نیست الفت باتن آسانی مرا
پیچ و تاب شعله باشد نقش پیشانی مرا

[I am love-sore, and have no liking for self-indulgence.
To fret and fume like the flame can be seen printed on my forehead.]

حیات جاودان خواهی گداز عشق حاصل کن
که دل در خون شدن خاصیت آب بقا دارد

[If you want eternal life, develop the consuming qualities of love,
Because the heart, when it bleeds, acquires the properties of the water of life.]

If even a base thing comes in contact with Love, it is sublimated and is transformed into something very noble. "Love of the transient beauty of the phenomenal, therefore, would in this way rise to the noumenal origin of Beauty :

هوس نماند زبس عشق آن نگارم سوخت
خوشم که شعلهٔ این شمع خارخارم سوخت

[No more of sensuality, as the Love of that Beauty has consumed me through and through.
I feel gratified as the flame of this candle has burnt all that remained of sensual desires.]

ساغر عشق مجازم نشهٔ تحقیق داد
مشت خونم جوش مجنون می زدو منصور شد

[The cup of the love of the phenomenal had the excitement of the noumenal.
The handful of my blood fretted like Majnun but ultimately became Manṣūr.]

From the above we conclude[1] that love has great potentialities. It is the cause of the grace and prosperity of the world, and also it adds to Divince Effulgence :

بی عشق محال است بود رونق هستی
بی جلوهٔ خورشید جهان نامه سیاه است

1. Majnūn was fired with the love of Laila, which stands here for the love of the phenomenal, and Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj was consumed by love of God, as he said : انا الحق (I am God), after a complete self-negation.

[Without love it is impossible for the world to have luster, as
Without the appearance of the sun the world is but a dark page.]

غافل زشکست دل عاشق نتوان بود
معموریٔ امکان بهمین خانه خرابست

[One cannot be negligent of the break caused to the heart of the lover, for
Prosperity of the world depends upon this ruined one.]

عشق اگر در جلوه آرد پرتو مقدور را
از گداز دل دهد روغن چراغ طور را

[If love were to make a display of its potential radiance,
By its melted heart it could lend oil to the lamp of the Mount Sinai[1].]

As such it is far superior to the utilitarian intellect :

عقل رنگ آمیز کی گردد حریف درد عشق
خامهٔ تصویر نتواند کشیدن ناله را

[How can the fabrications of the intellect prove equal to the pains of Love ?
The brush of the painter can never paint groans.]

In spite of this Bedil does not minimise the importance of intellect. He only wants that even if your intellectual powers have reached the highest point of perfection, you should not be devoid of love, because it lends elegance to all perfection :

باهر کمال اندکی آشفتگی خوش است
هر چند عقل کل شده ای بی جنون مباش

[With every perfection some agitation of Love looks graceful,
Although intellectually you are equal to the *Universal Intelligence*, don't be without madness.]

It is because of his regard for the intellect that he feels elated about his perception :

صد فلک ریزد غبار دامن افشانده ام
یک شرر گر شعلهٔ ادراک بردارد مرا

[The dust raised by my shaking off the skirt will create a hundred heavens,
If the flame of perception sustains me only for a moment.]

In this verse, in intellect, Bedil considers himself superior to the Intelligences which, according to the Neoplatonists, created all the Heavens and the world.

This much would do about Bedil's conception of Love. The discussion would grow endless if we try to find out how much Bedil

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1. Here a reference has been made to the revelation of Lord's Glory to the Mountain at the request of Moses. See al-Qur'ān, vii. 143.

borrowed here from Plato, Ibn Sina, and Rūmī (who have all much to say about Love) and what was his original contribution to it. Suffice it to say that, in view of his lofty conception[1] of love, he joins other great thinkers on the subject on terms of equality.

Out of the many and varied topics of Metaphysics, discussed by Bedil, I shall touch briefly one more. Man's origin, his relation to the Universe, and his destiny have been the subject-matter of poets, mystics, and thinkers in all lands and in all ages. Beginning with the Greeks, right up to this day, this inexhaustible subject has been discussed by every successive writer of repute, and everyone has had something useful to say. As the Muslim writers derived inspiration from the Qur'ān, their dissertations in this connection are chiefly based on the Qur'ānic verses. About soul the holy book says:

الروح من امر ربی

[The soul is from the command of my Lord (xvii. 85).]

Again, while speaking about Adam when his body was created from clay, the Qur'ān says:

و نفخت فیه من روحی

[I (God) breathed My spirit into it (xv. 29).]

These verses speak manifestly about the Divine element in Man. Bedil too takes his cue from these verses and says:

می سزد هر نفسم پای نفس بوسیدن
کزاد بگه قدم می رسد این لنگ حدوث

[It would be proper if every moment I kiss the feet of my breath,
As this lame one of creation arrives from the holy land of Eternity.]

Bedil is fond of making mention of this Divine aspect of man, but I shall quote only two sweet verses:

زطبع قطره نمی جز محیط نتوان یافت
تومی تراوی اگر جوش کرده‌ای ما را

[In the nature of the drop nothing but the moisture of the ocean is to be found
When You have caused us to boil, it is You who will trickle.]

دی من و دلدار از ربط آب و گوهر داشتیم
این زمان باید زقاصد نام او پر میدو سوخت

[On account of intimacy, Yesterday I and my beloved were together like the pearl and its lustre, but
Now I can do nothing except asking His Name from the messenger and burn.]

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1. For Plato's conception of Love, see Grube, *Plato's Thought*, Erose, pp. 87-118. For Ibn Sina's, Jamil Ṣaliba, *Ibn Sina*, pp. 95-97. Iqbal, *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, pp. 38-39. For Plato's, Ibn Sina's and Rūmī's together, Khalifa 'Abdul Ḥakim, *Metaphysics of Rumi*, pp. 52-70.

Bedil, therefore, feels proud when he thinks of his Divine Origin :

مو بموئیم چشمهٔ برق تجلیهائی اوست
طور اگر آتش فروزد کرم شب تاب منست

[Every hair of mine is the spring of His Glory.
If mount Sinai lights its fire, it is only my glow-worm.]

بیش ازانست در آئینهٔ من مایهٔ نور
که بهر ذره و خورشید نمایم تقسیم

[In my mirror the stock of light is much more than
That I should distribute among every atom and the Sun.]

Surrounded on all sides by Matter, Man becomes a prey to forgetfulness, and he turns his attention to those objects which attract his eyes by their glamour. Bedil, therefore, asks man to understand himself, as, according to the famous saying :

من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربه

he who knows his own self, knows God. Some relevant verses of Bedil may now be considered :

سحر نشه فطرتی ته خاک از چه غفلتی
نفسی صرف جوش کن از خم چرخ سر کشا

[You are the morning of the excitement of Eternity.
What negligence keeps you under the dust ?
Employ a moment in exciting yourself
And rise head and shoulders above the curve of the sky.]

ستم است اگر هوست کشد که به سیر سرو سمن درآ
تو ز غنچه کم نه دمیده‌ای در دل کشا بچمن درآ

[It would be unjust if you vainly desire to have a walk through the cypresses and the Jassamines.
You are not sprouted inferior to the bud. Open your heart and walk into the garden.]

کدام رمز و چه اسرار خویش را دریاب
که هرچه هست نهان غیر آشکار تو نیست

[There are no mysteries and no secrets. Find yourself,
For what is hidden is not different to what is manifest in you.]

Bedil repeatedly brings the vast potentialities of Man to our notice :

حیف نشگافتیم پردهٔ دل   دانه بو دست مهر خرمنها

[Sorry, we did not tear the veil of the heart.
A grain had sealed a heap of corn.]

دل آسودهٔ ما شور امکان در قفس دارد
گهر دزدیده است این جا عنان موج دریا را

[Our quiet heart has encaged within itself a world of uproar.
A pearl has stolen here the reins of the boisterous waves of the ocean.]

از دل گرمی توان درکائنات آتش زدن
ساز چندین گلخنیم و یک شرر داریم ما

[By a warm heart, the entire Universe can be set on fire.
We have material for many furnaces, although we have only one spark.]

In view of his noble origin and immense potentialities, Man has been asked to cherish noble and lofty aims, to be engaged in a continuous and everlasting struggle, and to avoid evil and vain desires :

ای فغان بگذر زچرخ و لا مکان تسخیر باش
چند در زیر سپر کردن نهان شمشیر را

[O my wails, cross the heavens and conquer the Placeless.
How long will you conceal your sword under the shield ?]

ای طلب در وصل هم مشکن غبار جستجو
آتشم گر زنده می خواهی زپا ننشان مرا

[O quest, let not the dust of search settle down even at the time of Union.
I am fire, and if you want me to be alive, let me not sink down.]

به بی آرامی است آسایش ذوق طلب بیدل
خوش آن رهرو که خار پای خود فهمید منزل را

[O, Bedil, the spirit of quest feels comforted in restlessness.
How fortunate is the traveller who thinks that his destination is only a thorn in his feet.]

زبزم وصل خواهشهائی بیجامی برد ما را
چو گوهر موج ما بیرون دریا می برد ما را

[Vain desires take us out of the assembly of Union.
Like the pearl our own wave takes us out of the ocean.]

The universe is neither superior to nor standing against Man. Bedil, like[1] Iqbāl, believes that 'all this immensity of matter constitutes a scope for the self-realisation of the spirit.' Establishment of proper relationship with the material world has thus been taught, because in this way inner powers of life are unfolded and Man rises above his environment :

چه فلک چه ذره ناتوان به هوائی شوق تو پرفشان
تو بهار و عالم رنگ و بو همه آشیان ظهور تو

[Whether the lofty sky or the lowly atom, everything flutters its wings in longing for you.
You are the spring, and the whole of this world of colour and smell is the nest for your development.]

نه فلک آغوش شوق انتظار آماده است
کای نهال باغ بیرنگی ز آب و گل برآ

1. Iqbal, *Reconstruction of Religious thought in Islam*, pp. 216-17.

[The nine[1] heavens with their open lap are waiting for you, saying :
"O thou plant of the garden of colourlessness,[2] come out of this mire of the world.]

In view of the vital importance of Man in the Universe, Bedil says that when Man will cease to exist the universe also will be no more :

بی وجود ما همین هستی عدم خواهد شدن
تا درین آئینه پیدا ایم عالم عالم است

[Without our presence this existence will become non-existence.
So long as we appear in this mirror, the world will continue to exist.]

If there are obstructions in the world and tribulations, Man should not be overawed or discouraged, because these only unfold his nobility. He must know that it is only the hardships which ultimately bring peace and tranquillity. Bedil makes another suggestion also. He says that a man, who has realised his self, is totally immune from these misfortunes :

حوادث عین آسائش برد آزاده مشرب را
که موج بحر دارد از شکست خویش جوهرها

[For a man, having independence of spirit, calamities bring peace of mind,
Because the wave of the ocean when it breaks makes pearls.]

زعافیت نتوان مژدهٔ کشا کش یافت
بدل شکستی اگر هست فتح باب طلب

[The happy news of deliverance cannot be had from a comfortable life.
If there is a breach in your heart ask for the opening of the door.]

ای طالب سلامت از آفات نگذری
در ساحل آتش است تو کشتی ببر در آب

[O Thou, who art in search of safety, do not shun calamities.
There is fire on the shore, hence take your boat to the waters.]

حوادث مژدهٔ امن است اگر دل جمع شد بیدل
گهر افسانه داند شورش امواج جیحون را

[O Bedil, if your mind is composed, the disasters bring the good news of peace.
With the pearl, the uproar caused by the waves of Oxus, is only a myth.]

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1. The nine heavens are :
فلک اقصی ، فلک بروج ، فلک زحل ، فلک مریخ ، فلک مشتری ، فلک الشمس ،
فلک زهره ، فلک عطارد ، فلک قمر
2. Divine Essence divested of Attributes.

These are instructions of practical nature and quite in keeping with Bedil's positively healthy philosophy of life. As regards Man's destiny he says :

چون سیل بیخودانه سوی بحر می رویم
آگه نه ایم دست که دارد عنان ما

[Like the torrent we are helplessly running towards the sea.
We are not aware whose hand holds our reins.]

تا قیامت جوهر و آئینه می جوشد بهم
از غبارم پاک نتوان کرد دامان شما

[Till the day of resurrection the mirror and its lustre would agitate together.]
Your skirt cannot be cleaned of our dust.]

Union with God is the final destiny of Man. After descent Bedil is hopeful of ascent towards Absolute Reality.

These were only a layman's references to various problems of Metaphysics discussed by Bedil. I simply wanted to introduce this aspect of the poet to the literary world. It appears that Bedil had made a vast study of Islamic philosophy, for, in his Ghazals, we find references now and again to the Necessary and the Contingent (واجب و ممکن), the Eternal and the Temporal (قدیم و حادث), transcendence and anthropomorphism (تنزیه و تشبیه), Unity and Plurality (وحدت و کثرت), substance and accident (جوهر و عرض), matter and form (هیولی و صورت), etc. Ṣalāḥud Dīn,[1] a modern scholar of Afghānistān, in his tract, *Afkār-e-Shā'ir,* tried to explain a few philosophical verses of Bedil, but an attempt like this can prove fruitful if all the topics, dealt with by Bedil, are systematically elaborated in an independent work. Bedil's Ethical philosophy, too, is a brilliant chapter of his writings—a chapter which impresses us very much on account of its magnitude also. But this is not a place to deal with his Ethics. As the basic points, about the Mysticism and Metaphysics of Bedil, are known, an idea about his Ethics can be easily formed.

At this stage it would be advisable if an attempt is made to judge the personality which will be the result of Bedil's philosophy. As soon as we start meditating in this direction, our imagination pictures a man with a sharp intellect ruled by selfless love. Though humble in spirit, he is fully aware of his noble origin. He works in the world courageously, facing all the hardships manfully to actualise the vast potentialities of his self. He shuns all worldly prizes, honours, and pleasures and, with a singleness of purpose, he struggles ceaselessly

1. Ṣalāḥud Dīn was for some time the Afghān Consul in Dehlī, when India was not partitioned. For the explanations referred to here, see his *Afkār-e-Shā'ir,* pp. 16-36.

to conquer the Infinite. The universe is subservient to him. He uses the universe, as a young bird would its nest, for the development and unfolding of his inner capacities, and, as soon as his self is fully developed, he will seek union with the Absolute. A man, with keen intellectual powers, and a tremendous dynamic love, mastering the universe and then seeking union with God, is what Bedil has in view. So acute is Bedil's keenness for his object that, if it is not realised, his very self and the universe appear illusory to him, for it is only the Absolute Reality that counts, and it is only because of contact with It that Bedil's Man begins to have significance.

This was the speculative side of Bedil's thought. We should now briefly consider the socio-economic element in his Ghazals.

Bedil was born in 1054 A.H. during the prosperous reign of Shāh Jahān, and died in 1133 A.H. during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh when Mughal power was dwindling in India. He saw four regular wars of succession, and also witnessed the ghastly incidents in which the Barha Sayyid brothers were the principal actors. He observed that during these upheavals the foundations of the society were shaken and the economic make-up of the country was shattered. The aristocratic society, laboriously built up by the Mughal Emperors up to Aurangzeb, lost stability during the last days of Bedil. It had already been unnerved by prosperity continuing for generations, but successive upheavals tore asunder its yarn of values also. Thus Bedil passed not a minor part of his life in the degenerate, demoralised, and pompous Mughal society, which was drifting rapidly towards its final extinction. As a sage and philosopher he thought deeply about this sad state of affairs and tried to reform his society. His mysticism and his philosophy assume quite a new pattern when viewed in this context. He addressed the rulers, the aristocracy, and the common folk and warned them of their evil deeds. He informed them of the sad consequences of their conduct and persuaded them to adopt healthier ways. For a student of history such like sayings of Bedil are very important because they make available the first-hand information of the social conditions prevailing in those days.

To the rulers, in general, he said that the glory of kingship was shortlived:

نیست در رنگ اعتبار ثبات   آبرو ها چو موج در گزر است

[The colour has not the quality of durability.
All dignity passes away like the wave.]

He told them there was no difference between an emperor and an ordinary man. On the other hand, he added, an emperor grows ignoble and inferior, because he becomes vain on account of the crown he wears:

در حباب و موج این دریا تفاوت بیش نیست
اندکی باد است در سر صاحب اورنگ را

[There is not much difference between the bubbles and the waves of this ocean.
The enthroned monarch has only some air in his head.]

After the death of Shāh 'Ālam in 1124 A.H. (1712 A.D.) when Jahāndār Shāh ascended the throne and gave himself up to voluptuousness and carousing, Bedil was very sorry to see such a brainless monarch seated on the glorious Peacock Throne. He said:

زبی مغزی شکوه سلطنت شد ننگ کناسی
بجائی استخوان گه خورده می گردد هما اینجا

[Through incapacity imperial grandeur has been reduced to the disgrace of a sweeper.
Instead of the bones one who eats facaes becomes Phoenix here.]

The entire Ghazal in which this verse occurs censures those times and the ungenerous and silly emperor.

But Bedil's invectives grow very fierce when he addresses the aristocrats. Before him no poet, except[1] Sa'dī, had discharged this sad duty so courageously and boldly. Bedil talks about the pomp and show, the kettle-drums and the bugles, and the vaulted chambers and the palaces of the Mughal aristocrats, and tells them that if they thought these things were to last for ever, they were sadly mistaken:

این است اگر کر و فر طاق و سرایت
بنیاد غبار بهوا رفته متین است

[If this is the splendour of your vaulted chambers and palaces,
Then the foundations of the dust flying in the air have become secure.]

The aristocrats were in the habit of making a display of their splendour. Bedil told them it was extremely harrowing:

رعنائی تجمل مست خراش دلهاست
هرگه پنجه بازید شد ناخن آزمادست

[The elegance of splendour proudly harrows the hearts.
Whenever the hand is sportive it uses the nails.]

Most of them were light-headed and talked boastfully. They were mentally of a low calibre and did not thank God for His favours:

شود کم ظرف درنعمت زشکر ایزدی غافل
که سیری سهر خاموشیست چون سا غردهانش را

1. Hali, Alṭāf Ḥusain, *Ḥayāt-e-Sa'di*, p. 18. Here see how fearlessly and selflessly Sa'dī criticised the courtiers of his day.

[In prosperity the puny intellect becomes thankless to God,
As like the cup satiety is the seal of silence for its mouth.]

They were base and vile and thought that the engraving on the stone in the ring (نقش نگیں) was the height of glory :

بعزت عالمی جاں می کند اما ازیں غافل
که در نقش نگیں معراج می باشد دنامت را

[For honour the entire world has become crazy, but it forgets
That it is meanness which finds the height of glory in the engraving on the stone.]

On account of their love for the worldly riches, they did not care for supreme virtue of Faqr. Also as they were proud of their elevated ranks they behaved like Antichrist in religious affairs :

عرض دین حق مبر در پیش مغروران جاه
سعئ مهدی برنمی آید ازیں دجالها

[Do not talk about the True Faith before those who are proud of their ranks.
The exertions of Mahdī cannot be expected from Antichrist.]

They were incurably negligent of their duties. There were rude, ill-tempered, ill-natured, and vindictive. They were full of evil thoughts, their countenance was always sour, and they indulged in severe and harsh talk :

کج اندیشاں ندارند آگہی از راستاں بیدل
زانگشت است یکسر میل کوری چشم خاتم را

[The evil-thinking persons are absolutely ignorant of the truthful people, Bedil.
Through the finger the eye of the ring has completely the needle of blindness.]

بحرف ناملائم زحمت دلها مشو بیدل
که هر جا جنس سنگی هست باشد دشمن مینا

[O Bedil, do not trouble the hearts by your harsh words,
For wherever there is a stone, it is enemy of the flask.]

In addition to this, lust[1] was consuming their soul and body, so much

1. About the luxurious ways and voluptuousness of those days we learn a good deal from the book *Muraqqa'-e-Dehlī*, which was written by Nawāb Dargāh Qulī Khān, during the reign of the Emperor Muhammad Shāh. We learn from the book that once Wazīrulmamālik I'timāduddaula gave drinking cups, etc. worth Rs. 70,000 to a dancing girl named Bahnīa-e-Fīlsawār (p. 75). It has been told that the courtiers were sodomists (pp. 27, 28, 33, 70-73), and that they celebrated days when nothing but luxury and gratification of sensual pleasures was the order (p. 33). For this there were separate quarters where the censor could not go. One of such places was Kasalpura, and about it Nawāb Dargāh Qulī remarks (p. 33) :

هوائیش شهوت آمیز است و فضائیش باه انگیز

Its air is lustful and its atmosphere incites sexual intercourse.}

Women too had such like places which were rendezvous for meetings with lovers.

so that amongst them could be found passively sodomistical persons :

بیدل چه ذلتست که گردون منقلب
در طبع مرد خاصیت زن نهاده است

[O, Bedil, what meanness it is that the changed times
Have placed the quality of a woman in the nature of man.]

Besides, they oppressed the people. They were callously cruel. Their glib tongue also had the venom of vindictiveness :

نرمئی گفتار ظالم بی فسون کینه نیست
صنعتی دارد حسد از شعله پروردن در آب

[The soft speech of the cruel man is never devoid of vindictiveness.
When jealousy rears a flame in the water, it is only a subtle art.]

Cruelty was prevalent and Bedil said pathetically :

بترس از آه مظلوماں که هنگام دعا کردن
اجابت از در حق بهر استقبال می اید

[Be afraid of the sighs of the oppressed ones, for when they pray
Acceptation rushes forward from the Divine door to welcome their prayers.]

As this undying verse has been quoted[1] by Aurangzeb, it shows it was composed by Bedil when that Emperor was still alive and that the officers in the service of that God-fearing Emperor, too, were oppressors. It was because of this widespread oppression and political instability that Bedil wrote :

پال بر بال شهرت عنقاست رنگ آرام در زمانهٔ ما

[In our times the colour of peace has winged off and disappeared like the fabulous Phoenix.]

For the common folk Bedil had a warm corner. Although a man of elevated genius and respected by the most elevated people of his times, he loved the lowest class and the life of poverty (فقر). He was moved whenever he saw the sad and quiet faces of the poor,

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Nāgal was one of those places, and there, on the seventh day of every month, women used to go in large numbers in their best make-up (p. 39). The author says :

اگر غریب وارد آں نزهت کده گردد فوراً بجفت می رسد

[If a stranger comes to that elegant place, he will immediately pair.]

This book was written when in 1151 A.H. Nādir Shāh, the Persian soldier of fortune, came to Dehli and Nawāb Dargāh Qulī Khān was there in the service of Niẓāmul Mulk Āsif Jāh (*Muraqqa'*, Preface, pp. 15-17, 20; and *Khazāna-e-'Āmira*, p. 223).

If such a society could not resist its enemies and fell an easy prey to them, it was but natural !

1. Page 95 supra.

and whenever they were vociferous in expressing their complaints, he justified them :

هجوم شکوهٔ هرکس زدرد مفلسی باشد
نخیزد نالہ از نی تا بود مغز استخوانش را

[The uproarious complaints of all are due to the pangs of poverty.
So long as there is pith in its bones the reed will not moan.]

He advised the poor not to be dismayed, and also asked them not to take their grievances to the hard-hearted rich. When such were the ways of the society he had a hazy conception of some extreme action :

زندگی در بند و قید رسم و عادت مردن است
دست دست تست بشکن این طلسم ننگ را

[Life is but wearing out in the bondage of customs,
You have got your hands. Why don't you break this spell ?]

This was the human side of Bedil, and with this I have finished what I had to say about Ghazals. Now I give below translation of only three Ghazals of Bedil. I regret the translation lacks the flavour of the original.

I

خاکسار تو طپیدن کند آغاز چرا
جرس آبله بیرون دهد آواز چرا
جیب حسنت گره از بیضهٔ فولاد کشود
دیدهٔ ما بجمال تو نشد باز چرا
دل بدست تو و ما از تو دگر مانع چیست
خودنمائی نکند آئینه پرداز چرا
سیل بنیاد جهان است نظر وا کردن
هوش ما هم نشود خانه بر انداز چرا
ساز بیتابیٔ دل گر نه عروج آهنگ است
نفس از بیم طپش می شود آواز چرا
گر نه سازیست یقین رابطهٔ هر بم و زیر
شکوه شد زمزمهٔ طالع ناساز چرا
بی نیازی اگر از عیب و هنر مستغنی است
حیرت آئینه دارد لب غماز چرا
نیست جز خودشکنی دامن اقبال بلند
آخر ای مشت غبار این همه پرواز چرا
بیدل آئینهٔ معشوق نما در بر تست
این نیازیکه تو داری نشود ناز چرا

[Why should your humble slave be in violent agitation ?
Why should the bell-like blister have a sound ?
The breast of your charms removed the knot from the steel-egg, but
Why my eyes have not opened at your beauty ?

My heart is in your hands and I belong to you. Then what prevents you,
Who are busy with the mirror, from self-display?
Your opening the eye undermines the foundations of the world like a torrent, then
Why should not the structure of our reason come tumbling down?
If the instrument of the restlessness of heart is not producing a resounding symphony
Why the breath, being afraid of agitation, is changing into sound?
If faith does not keep order in the high and low tones of the instrument,
Why the complaint has changed into the song of ill-luck?
If that, who is free from want, is indifferent to faults and virtues,
Why does the bewilderment of the mirror have a tale-bearer lip?
The skirt of glory cannot be held aloft except by self-renunciation,
O thou handful of dust, why then so much of flight?
The beloved showing mirror is in your bosom, Bedil, then
Why this humility, that you have, should not change into pride?]

2

چشم تو بحال من گرینم نظر خندد   خارم بچمن نازد عیبم به هنر خندد
تا چند بر آن عارض بر رغم نگاه من   از حلقهٔ گیسویت گلهائی نظر خندد
در کشور مشتاقان بی پرتو دیدارت   خورشید چرا تابد بهر چه سحر خندد
دل میچکد از چشمم چون ابر اگر گریم   جان می دمد از لعلت چون برق اگر خندد
با اهل فنا هرکس دارد سر یک رنگی   باید که برنگ شمع از رفتن سر خندد
درکارگه خوبی یارب چه نزاکتهاست   صد گره بخود بالد تا موئی کمر خندد
در جویٔ دم تیغت شیرینئی آبی هست   کز جوش حلاوتها زخمش بشکر خندد
سامان‌طرب سهل استزین نقد که‌ما داریم   صبح از دو نفس فرصت بر خود چقدر خندد
هر شبنم ازین گلشن تمهید گلی دارد   باگریه مدارا کن چندانکه اثر خندد
از سعئ هوس بگذر بیدل که درین گلشن   گل نیز اگر خندد از پهلوئی زر خندد

[If your eye turns cheerfully towards me even from its corners,
My thorns shall assume a haughty air before the garden, and my defects shall laugh at the virtues.
How long on those cheeks, contrary to the will of my glances,
Shall the flower-like eyes glow, out of the curls of your tresses?

In the realm of the lovers, without a ray from your face,
Why should the sun shine, and why should the morning dawn?
If I weep like the cloud, my heart trickles down my eyes, and
When your ruby lips smile like lightning, my soul sprouts from them.
Everyone is sincere to the annihilated ones.
Like the candle, one should laugh when the head is gone.
O God! What subtleties are there in the world of comeliness? (The fair ones).
Stretch themselves equal to the height of a hundred peaks and then the hair of their waist appears smilingly.
In the stream of the blade of your sword there is sweetness of water,
Because on account of excessive sweetness the wound caused by it laughs at the sugar.
By whatever cash we have it is easy to enjoy ourselves.
How much does the morning laugh with but a couple of breaths?
Every dewdrop in this garden is a flower in the making
Be courteous to weeping so that it might influence (the beloved).
Give up greed, Bedil, for in this garden,
Even when the flower laughs mockingly, it does so on account of having a golden side.]

3

بسته‌ام چشم امید از الفت اهل جهان
کرده ام پیدا چو گوهر در دل دریا کران
بسکه پستی در کمین دارد بنائی اعتبار
بعد ازین دیوارهای سایه خواهد شد عیان
از تجمل سفله را ساز بزرگی مشکل است
خاک از سامان بالیدن نگردد آسمان
ای تمنایت خیال اندیش تصویر محال
سیر خود کن دیگر از عنقا چه می جوئی نشان
نارسائی جادهٔ سر منزل جمعیت است
از شکست بال می بالد حضور آشیان
جز تحیر از جنون ما سیه بختان مپرس
حلقهٔ زنجیر گیسو بر نمی دارد فغان
عاشق از اهل هوس در صبر دارد امتیاز
کرده اند آئینهٔ و شبنم بحیرت امتحان
رفتگان یا رب چه سامان داشتند از درد و داغ
کاین زمانم می دهد آتش سراغ کاروان
عیشهای دارد عدم فرسائی اجزای من
جوش مهتاب است هر جا پنبه شد تارکتان

کوشش گردون علاج بی پریهائیم نکرد
مشکل است از سرو گلچیدن به سعیٔ باغبان
در فشائی دل بقام عزت و خواری یکیست
نیست صدر خانهٔ آئینه غیر از آستان
بی رواجیهای عرض احتیاجم خوار کرد
آب رو چندانکه می ریزم نمی گردد روان
صبح این هنگامه ای از سیر خود غافل مباش
یک نفس پیدائیت از عالمی دارد نشان
چشم او را نیست بیدل سیری از خون ریختن
جام می از باده پیمای نگردد سر گران

[I have lost all hopes of love from the people, and
Like the pearl I have found a corner in the heart of the ocean.
As the base also aims at having a structure of dignity
After this walls made of shadow would appear.
By splendour the base cannot make a display of greatness.
The dust when it rises up cannot become a sky.
Your desires vainly think of the impossible,
Have a journey through yourself. Why do you make a search for the Phoenix ?
Helplessness is the direct route to the destination of peace.
When the wings break prospects of having a nest become bright.
Except bewilderment, ask for nothing from the madness of such unlucky persons as we are.
The rings of the chain of tresses produce no sound.
In patience the lover distinguishes himself from the sensual people.
The mirror and the dewdrop have been tested in bewilderment.
O God, how much of pain and sadness the departed ones had ?
Even now the fire relates the tale of the caravan.
If my parts have rubbed themselves into non-existence I am full of delight, as
Wherever cotton changes into linen there is a flood of moonlight.
Even the sky could not cure my winglessness.
It is impossible to pluck flowers from the cypress by the efforts of the gardener.
In the domain of heart the position of dignity and of dishonour is the same.
The threshold of the house of mirrors is seen high up.
I am sad because my making requests receives no attention.
However I shed the water of my face it does not run.

You are the dawn of this (agreeably) vociferous assembly,
don't neglect a peep into yourself.
If you become manifest even for a while, you will display a
unique world.
The beloved's eye, O Bedil, does not get tired of shedding
blood.
The cup of wine is never intoxicated by drinking ceaselessly.]

The poet who wrote such excellent verse, of supreme literary value, having the greatest number of greatest ideas, could not fail to have followers after his death. In India, as well as in Central Asia, there have been many poets who took pride in imitating Bedil. About the poets of the latter[1] region, I had occasion to speak in the third chapter, and I should, therefore, confine myself here to the Indian poets alone. Leaving aside the second-rate[2] poets I shall talk about the two topmost ones, i.e. Ghālib and Iqbāl, whose fame has crossed the frontiers of this subcontinent, and whose talent is recognised by all and sundry.

Asadullah Khān Ghālib (1212-1285 A.H.) was the renowned poet of Persian and Urdu, and his fame is growing daily, particularly because of his Urdu Dīwān. His earliest biographer and pupil, Alṭāf Ḥusain Ḥālī, says[3] that in his childhood Ghālib followed Bedil. The two Maṣnavīs, محیط اعظم and طور معرفت which were in Ghālib's possession,[4] bear the date 1231 A.H. This shows that Ghālib was nineteen years old when these Maṣnavis were with him. Ghālib himself has also admitted[5] that he studied and imitated Bedil (and others of his type) till he was twentyfive years old. He adds that when the literary productions of that period were collected, a large Dīwān was the result. But as at that time Ghālib did not have sufficient skill in writing poetry, and also as he followed Bedil mostly in finding[6] original conceits, which again at that age could not be easily reached by him, he was embarrassed. His verses became extremely abstruse, and he had to say:

طرز بیدل میں ریختہ لکھنا　　اسد اللہ خاں قیامت ہے

[Writing of lyrics in the style of Bedil,
Is extremely difficult, O Asadullah Khān.]

This phase of Ghālib's earlier attempts at versification makes a sad

1. Page 152 supra.

2. For example. Ṣahbāī and 'Alvī, mentioned by Alṭāf Ḥusain Ḥālī in *Yādgār-e-Ghālib*, p. 182.

3. Ibid., p. 99.

4. Page 172, supra.

5. *Nuskha-e-Ḥamīdiya* (of Ghālib's Dīwān), p. 14.

6. Ibid.

story, mainly because the lovers of Ghālib ascribe his earlier abstruseness entirely to Bedil, and consequently a bias exists against our poet. I shall therefore make a brief statement of the positive gains of Ghālib resulting from the intensive study of Bedil :

1. Ghālib says :

اسد هر جا سخن نے طرح باغ تازہ ڈالی ہے
مجھے رنگ بہار ایجادیٔ بیدل پسند آیا

[Asad, wherever in the verse a new garden has been grown (it is because)
I like Bedil's style which produces (colourful) spring.]

It is a very important couplet pointing definitely to the influence of Bedil on the creative imagination of Ghālib. Dr. 'Abdur Raḥmān Bijnaurī says[1] that at every page of Ghālib's Dīwān there are verses which an artist can express in colour. This was actually done by 'Abdur Raḥmān Chughtāī, who brought out a very poplular pictorial edition[2] of Ghālib's Dīwān. Now, if the above-mentioned verse of Ghālib is to be believed, which we must, this was the influence of Bedil. In addition to what I have said in this chapter about Bedil's sense of Beauty, a perusal of the Maṡnavīs محیط اعظم and طور معرفت, which we know were studied by Ghālib, establishes the fact beyond doubt that Bedil's imagination is ablaze when he is describing beautiful things. His بہاریہ (description of spring) in محیط اعظم expressed in a running glowing metre is a thing of everlasting beauty. And in طور معرفت, which is a description of the scenery, during the rainy season, of a hill called Bairāṭ, Bedil has said in all subtleness :

مزن بر سنگ او زنہار دستی   کہ مینا در بغل خوابیدہ مستی

[Don't strike your hands against its stones,
For a drunk Beauty is asleep there with a flask under the arm.]

When Bedil has such a charming expression of the 'Beautiful,' the aesthetic taste of Ghālib must have been deeply influenced by it.

2. But beauty does not exist in thought alone ; it appears in expression also. Similes, metaphors, combinations of words, diction are all influenced by it. Examples of Bedil's graceful expression have been cited above. Now if we go through Dr. Bijnaurī's[3] inspired comments about Ghālib's peculiarities of style, we find that Bedil's characteristics are also the same. Dr. Bijnaurī has cited Ghālib's new

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1. 'Abdur Raḥmān Bijnaurī, *Nuskha-e-Ḥamīdiya*, p. 53, Preface.
2. See *Muraqqa'-e-Ghālib*, the pictorial edition of *Dīwān-e-Ghālib*, brought out by 'Abdur Raḥmān Chughtāī.
3. 'Abdur Raḥmān Bijnaurī, *Nuskha-e-Ḥamīdiya*, Preface.

combinations[1] of words, e.g. برگ ادراک ۔ موجہ گل ۔ شہپر رنگ ۔ شہر آرزو موج نگہ ۔ جوھر اندیشہ ۔ آتش خاموش etc. etc., and if they are compared with Bedil's combinations,[2] we observe striking similarities. Such like combinations abound also in محیط اعظم and طور معرفت of Bedil. We tread still surer grounds when we read Ḥālī saying[3] that in Ghālib's Persian prose, elements of Bedil's style have been incorporated.

3. Again Bedil said[4]:

شاعری عبارت از معنئی تازه یابیست

[Poesy is synonymous with finding out original conceits
And Ghālib has said :[5]]

بھائی شاعری معنی آفرینی ہے قافیہ پیمائی نہیں

[Brother ! Poesy means creating original conceits and not only bringing together mutually rhyming verses.]

Who can say this sentiment of Ghālib was not strengthened as a result of imitating Bedil?

4. Finally, Alṭāf Ḥusain Ḥālī says that, although to escape the charge of abstruseness Ghālib found refuge in Naẓīrī and other poets of his type, yet for a long time Ghālib was inspired by the spirit[6] of Bedil. We know about Bedil's mystical speculations and his notions about the origin and destiny of Man. When Dr. 'Abdur Raḥmān Bijnaurī discusses this phase of Ghālib's thought, he poses the question[7]: Who knows from where Ghālib imbibed this spirit? Had the learned Doctor made researches about the suggestive remark of Ḥālī, quoted above, he would have certainly agreed with Ḥālī that it was indeed Bedil who inspired Ghālib in this respect. Fuller implications of this statement would be more clearly brought home to us, if the following parallel verses of Bedil and Ghālib are studied :

Bedil :

همه غیب است شهود اینجا نیست
جمله اخفاست نمود اینجا نیست
نتوان جلوهٔ مطلق دیدن
آنکه این پرده کشود اینجا نیست
به هستی تو امید است نیستی ها را
که گفته اند اگر هیچ نیست الله است

[Everything is invisible here and nothing visible.
All is hidden, nothing is apparent.

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1. 'Abdur Raḥmān Bijnaurī, *Nuskha-e-Ḥamīdiya*, Preface, p. 43.
2. Page 190 supra.
3. Ḥalī, *Yādgār-e-Ghālib*, p. 310.
4. Sarkhush, *Kalimātush Shu'arā*, p. 34.
5. Ḥālī, *Yādgār-e-Ghālib*, p. 124.
6. Ibid., p. 310.
7. 'Abdur Raḥmān Bijnaurī, *Nuskha-e-Ḥamīdiya*, p. 103.

It is imposible to see Absolute Beauty.
That who drew the curtain is not here.
Because of your Existence all non-existence has hopes.
For it is said, "There is Allah when there is nothing."]

Ghālib :

ہے غیب غیب جس کو سمجھتے ہیں ہم شہود
ہیں خواب میں ہنوز جو جاگے ہیں خواب میں

[It is hidden what we consider to be apparent.
Those who have awoke in sleep are still asleep.

نہ تھا کچھ تو خدا تھا کچھ نہ ہوتا تو خدا ہوتا
ڈبویا مجھ کو ہونے نے نہ ہوتا میں تو کیا ہوتا

When everything was non-existent, God existed, and had there been nothing, God would have been there.
This existence has been my undoing. What would I have been (God) ; if I had not been.]

No impartial and unbiased scholar can overlook the importance of these positive gains in the development of Ghālib's genius. Although, in order to secure facility of expression. Ghālib turned to poets like 'Urfī and Nazīrī, yet his earlier contact with Bedil, extending over a long period of ten[1] years, gave a definite pattern to his thoughts and expression which later enabled him to reach the dizzy heights of glory.

As regards Dr. Muḥammed Iqbāl (1873-1938 A.D.), the well-known poet whose Philosophy of Self has earned him an undying fame, one can assert indisputably that right from his early age to the end of his life, he held Bedil in high esteem and derived much benefit from the diction and philosophy of that poet. He has twice quoted Bedil in his works, once[2] in *Bangā-e-Darā*, published in 1924 A.D., and inserted the following couplet of Bedil :

با هر کمال اندکی آشفتگی خوش است
هرچند عقل کل شده ای بی جنون مباش

and again[3] in *Zarb-e-Kalīm*, published in 1936 A.D., inserting Bedil's following couplet :

دل اگر می داشت وسعت بی نشان بود این چمن
رنگ می بیرون نشست از بسکه مینا تنگ بود

[Had your heart been expansive this garden would not have had any vestige.
As the flask had little capacity, the colour of the wine remained outside.]

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1. *Nuskha-e-Hamīdiya*, p. 14. Ghālib himself admits here that he imitated Bedil for ten years, beginning when he was 15 and leaving when twenty five.

2. Iqbāl, *Bāng-e-Darā*, p. 278.

On both the occasions he talks very respectfully about our poet and in *Bāng-e-Darā* he calls him مرشد کامل. In his *Lectures and Malfūẕāt* too Bedil has been mentioned. In the former[1] Bedil has been called "Our Great Poet Thinker," and in the latter[2] Iqbāl appreciated Bedil's dynamic mysticism in preference to the Philosophy of Asadullah K͟hān G͟hālib, which, Iqbāl says, is inclined to be static. From what we have said so far it is manifest that both Iqbāl and Bedil share each other's hatred for dry as dust intellectualism, belief in the vast potentialities of Man, and love for activism. These facts will become all the more clear if a comparative study of the following verses of both the great poets is made :

Bedil :

چه لازم با خرد همخانه بودن
دوروزی می توان دیوانه بودن

[It is not essential to be always with reason,
One should also be mad for a couple of days.]

حیف نشگافتیم پردهٔ دل
دانه بودست سهر خرمنها

[Sorry we did not tear open the veil of the heart.
A grain had sealed the granary.]

ای فغان بگذر زچرخ و لا مکاں تسخیر باش
چند در زیر سپر کردن نهاں شمشیر را

[O, my cries, cross the heavens and conquer the Placeless.
How long will you keep your sword hidden under the shield ?]

بساز حادثه هم نغمه بودن آرام است
اگر زمانه قیامت کند تو طوفان باش

[Being in tune with the instrument of the accidents brings peace.
If the times create tumult be a storm.]

Iqbāl :

اچھا ہے دل کے ساتھ رہے پاسبان عقل
لیکن کبھی کبھی اسے تنہا بھی چھوڑ دے

[It is preferable that reason should be with the heart as guardian.
But sometimes it should leave it alone.]

حسن کا گنج گرانمایه تجھے مل جاتا
تو نے فرہاد نہ کھودا کبھی ویرانۂ دل

[You would have got a priceless treasure of Beauty,
Had you, O Farhad, dug the mildernes of heart.]

در دشت جنون من جبریل زبون صیدی
یزداں بکمند آور ای همت مردانه

1. Iqbāl, *Reconstruction of Religions Thought in Islam*, p. 11.
2. Iqbāl, *Malfuẕat*. Anwar, 'Abdullah, *The Poet of the East*, p. 314,

[In the waste-land of my madness the angel Gabriel is but a worthless prey.
O, high-minded courage, catch God in your noose.]

گذر جا بن کے سیل تند رو کوہ و بیاباں سے
گلستان راہ میں آئے تو جوی نغمہ خوان ہو جا

[Pass through the hills and the deserts like the swift torrent but
If there is a garden in your way, be a sweet singing stream.]

A strange identity of temperament, thought, and outlook makes itself apparent from these verses of both the poets. A detailed comparative study of the life and works of each one of them is bound to be more fruitful, but I must be content here with saying that both of them tried to reform and regenerate the society, in which they were born, by their soul-stirring verse and their lifegiving thought. It was because of this that Iqbāl, who came after Bedil, was full of praise for his forerunner in thought.

Still there is another phase of Iqbāl's indebtedness to Bedil, to which S. A. Vahid, a learned writer on Iqbāl's Art and Thought, draws our attention. He says[1]:

> How beautifully Iqbāl has sung of his philosophy of ego in his graceful and melodious verse. It needed a superb Artist to achieve this, but it must be remarked that Iqbāl's task was rendered easier by poets like Hafiz, Bedil, and Ghalib. So far as I know, Hafiz was the first great poet to discuss philosophy and sociology, as he knew them, as well as politics in his lyrics. This trend continued in Persian till we find in 'Urfi and Bedil abstruse philosophical subjects discussed with the grace and the charm of which only a Persian Ghazal is capable.

This similarity of diction in Bedil and Iqbāl was first of all detected by the poet Akbar Ḥusain Akbar (d.1921 A.D.) of Allahabad who, while praising Iqbāl, wrote[2] to a friend :

> What a fine expression. Even Bedil would be enamoured of it.

Iqbal himself[3] wrote to a poet named Ghulām[4] Ḥusain Shākir Ṣiddīqī of Gujrānwala, Panjab, to study Bedil in order to improve his diction. This shows how much the charm of Iqbāl's expression is

1. Vahid, S.A., *Iqbāl, His Art and Thought*, p. 194.

2. *Makhzan*, Lahore, for October 1949, p. 21. It was in a letter to one *Mīrzā Sulṭān Aḥmad*.

3. *Makhzan*, Lahore, for October, 1949, p. 21; *Māḥaul*, Rawalpindi, for December 1952, p. 10.

4. Ghulām Ḥusain Shākir Ṣiddīqī follows Iqbāl in his poems and writes mostly about historic topics. His works are *Armughān-e-Ulfat* (a novel), *Sa'ādat-e-Dārain* (a collection of doxological poems), *Riāz-e-'Ishq* (Ghazals), *Gulzār-e-Khayāl*,

due to the graceful wording of Bedil. We have studied Bedil's combination[1] of words; we should now study Iqbāl's[2] for the sake of comparison:

ذوق نمو، آئینه دار هستی، محشرستان نوا، لطف خرام، نشهٔ هستی، توسن ادراک، ذوق تبسم، جهان اضطراب، فیض شعور، جنت فکر، قافلهٔ رنگ و بو

A passing reference to the indebtedness of Urdu language to Bedil would not be out of place. As far as I know, Bedil wrote only three verses in this language, but his pupils[3] Anand Rām Mukhlis, Sirājuddīn Khān Ārzū, and Nawāb Amīr Khān Anjām have left many verses in Urdu. As after Bedil's death in 1033 A.H., poets of Shāh Jahānābād turned in large numbers to Urdu, the celebrations of the death anniversaries of Bedil attracted Urdu[4] poets also who got inspiration from Bedil's verse. Moreover, we have just talked about Ghālib and Iqbāl, who wrote in Urdu also, and everybody knows they have enriched this language vastly by the sweetness of their expression and the loftiness of their thoughts. Thus it is clear that indirectly Urdu language owes much to Bedil. This fact can be explained further by enumerating second-rate Urdu poets who followed Bedil, but this will unduly lengthen the discussion, and I should, therefore, finish it here and move to the next chapter.

Bahār-e-Khayāl (both collections of national and historical poems), and *Yād-e-Qalandar* (mainly versified addresses to Iqbāl and the letters from the Poet of the East). In this connection, read an article by Shākir Ṣiddīqi, captioned Yad-e-Qalandar, contributed to *Māḥaul* for December 1952.

1. Page 190 supra.

2. Yūsuf Ḥusain Khān, *Rūḥ-e-Iqbāl*, p. 110.

3. Mīr Taqī Mīr, *Nikātush Shu'ara*, pp. 2-4, 9; Gardezī, Sayyid Fatah 'Ali Husainī, *Tażkira-e-Rekhta Goyān*, p. 2.

4. Sauda, *Kulliyāt*, pp. 470, 471. Here Mirzā Muḥammad Rafī 'Saudā (d. 1195 A.H.) writes a satire in Urdu about the poet, Nudrat Kashmiri, who took part in the celebrations.

that it has about 6,000 couplets. It has a brief preface in prose and eight[1] chapters. The names of the chapters are given in the following eight lines.[2]

جوش اظهار خمستان وجود — جام تقسیم حریفان شهود
موج انوار گهرهائی ظهور — شور سر جوش مئی فیض حضور[3]
رنگ اسرار گلستان کمال — بزم نیرنگ خط لوح وصال
اصل اشکال خم و پیچ بیان — ختم طومارهٔ تگ و پوئی بیان

The preface begins with the praise of the Creator Who honoured Man by saying:

ولقد کرمنا بنی آدم[4]

And surely We have dignified the children of Ādam.]

Then Bedil names the poets[5] Zuhūrī, Hilālī, Zulālī, Sālik, Tālib, Ṣāmit, Shaidā, Salīm, and Ṣāib, who (with the exception of the last two) could not be expected to comprehend properly and appreciate this Maṣnavī. In the first chapter Bedil tells how Pure Being gradually descended and entered the realm of manifestation. In the second chapter he informs how the wine of Divine Love, nay the Light of Heavens, was turn by turn distributed among the different prophets, i.e. Ādam, Idrīs, Nūḥ, Yūnus, Ibrāhīm, Ya'qūb, Yūsuf, Sulaimān, Ayyūb, Mūsa, 'Īsa, and Muḥammad (Peace be upon them), and then among Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uṣmān, and 'Alī—the four Orthodox Caliphs of Islam. This fact reminds us of Ibnul 'Arabī, who named the chapters[6] of his *Fuṣuṣul Ḥikam* after different prophets and discussed in each chapter an appropriate aspect of Mysticism. The third chapter deals with Manifestation, the fourth with the universal passion of love for God, and the fifth tells that perfection is attained by approaching the Almighty in a spirit of humility. In the sixth the tavern of the intoxicated lovers of God has been described, and in the seventh the unique position of Man in the universe has been emphasised. The eighth chapter marks the end. Here and there in the Maṣnavī anecdotes have been introduced to illustrate some point. The metre of the poem is متقارب مثمن مقصور—the famous running metre of the *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī.

1. *Muḥīṭ-e-A'ẓam*, Panjab University Library Mss. No. 1526, f. 47 b, See the following couplets:

ای بسته ذات به طوف معنی احرام — در حلقهٔ این میکده کن دور تمام
مفتاح بهشت معرفت درکف تست — از دور ثمنش اگر یابی جام

2. Kulliyāt-e-Ṣafdarī, *Muḥīṭ-e-A'ẓam*, p. 3.

3. In the Ms. of the Maṣnavī, mentioned above, it is: شور سر جوش شراب بی قصور. And similarly the sixth is: بزم نیرنگ اثرهائی خیال; see f. 47b.

4. The Holy Qur'ān, xvii, 70.

5. Page 46, supra.

6. Shushtery, A.M.A., *Outlines of Islamic Culture*, II, 505-16.

CHAPTER V

Masnavis

RUDAKI, the father of Persian poetry, was also the first poet to write a Maṣnavī[1] in Persian. He related in verse the famous story of *Kalila and Damna* and thus Maṣnavī, as a class in itself, came into being. The Maṣnavī was, therefore, originally a narrative, but gradually its scope was widened, and romantic, epic, philosophical, ethical, didactic, and mystical Maṣnavīs were written in course of time by different poets. When Bedil was born, all the great Maṣnavīs : the *Ḥadīqatul Ḥaqīqat* of Sanāī, the *Masnavī* of Jalālud Dīn Rūmī, the *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, the *Panj Ganj* of Niẓāmī of Ganja, the *Bostān* of Sa'dī, and the *Haft Aurang* of Jāmī, had been written and were universally popular in Muslim countries. Bedil, therefore, was able to study Maṣnavī in its fully developed form. The language of the Maṣnavīs, too, had improved to such an extent that topics of all sorts, whether nature poetry, battle scenes, emotions, customs, character-sketches, philosophical subjects, or other problems of life, could be handled without facing any difficulty in expression. Suitable words, appropriate phrases, apt similes and metaphors, and carefully coined terminology could be found in abundance ; and an intelligent, well-read, and original writer like Bedil could express himself with a charm and elegance which could not fall to the lot of the Maṣnavī-writers of earlier ages. Having enumerated, in brief, the advantages which Bedil had over his predecessors, we should study his Maṣnavīs in the chronological order.

1. MUḤĪṬ-E-A'ẒAM

Bedil was twenty four years old when he wrote this Maṣnavī in 1078 A.H. (1667 A.D.). Its name محیط اعظم is the chrogogram,[2] Khushgū says[3] that it has 2,000 couplets, but some manuscript copies of this Maṣnavī, which are found in different countries of the world, show[4]

1. In a Maṣnavī both the hemistiches of every couplet rhyme with each other and the rhyme changes with every next couplet. The minimum number of couplets in a Maṣnavī is two, but there is no limit to their maximum number. Similarly, Maṣnavīs are not written in a particular metre. Any metre can suit them.

2. Page 55 supra.

3 Khushgū, *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 375.

4. Page 171 supra.

There are four aspects of the poem, and hints about them have been made by Bedil himself. In the preface[1] Bedil says that the poem is a میخانهٔ ظهور حقائق (A Tavern for the Revelation of Truths), i.e. its philosophical aspect has been referred to. In the same preface it has been called بهشت معرفت[2] also, which means the Paradise of Gnosis, and thereby the mystical import of the poem has been emphasised. In his *Ruq'āt*, Bedil writes[3] that it is a Saqīnāma, i.e. a Bacchanalian Song. Again, in the Chahār *'Unṣur this* Maṣnavī has been named[4] a بهاریه, i.e. a vernal ode. I would like to speak briefly about all the four aspects of the Maṣnavī, but, before doing so, I should reiterate that it was the first Maṣnavī of Bedil, written at the youthful age of twenty four, when the memories of his spiritual preceptors, who were accustomed[5] to talk about the mystical philosophy in their meetings, were still fresh in his mind.

While speaking of God Bedil begins with Pure Being, devoid of qualities and relations, when there were no accidents, no contradictions and no talk of the Necessary and the contingent. All this uproar was then hushed up in Huwiyya (He-ness) "which[6] signifies the inward Unity in which the attributes of the Essence disappear." Bedil says figuratively :

تنزه چراغ شبستان او   تقدس بهار گلستان او
خموشی به بزمش ترنم بیان   تحیر به گلزار او گلفشان
نه بر دست ساقی قدح را نظر   نه از حرف مطرب صدا را خبر
نه غم نی طرب نی خزان نی بهار   نه کیفیت می نه رنج خمار
به میخانهٔ غیب لاهوت مست   بهم ساقی و باده و می پرست
نی و نغمه و مطرب داستان   پس پردهٔ ساز وحدت نهان

[Transcendence was lamp of Its chamber,
Sanctity was a blossom of Its garden,
Quietness breathed a melodious song in Its assembly, and
Bewilderment strewed flowers in Its orchard.
Neither the cup had opened its eye on the bearer's hand,
Nor the melody was aware of the minstrel's tune.
There was neither sorrow, nor joy, and neither autumn nor spring.
Similarly there was neither exhilaration produced by wine nor the pain of drunken headache.

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1. Kullīyāt-e-Ṣafdarī, *Muḥīṭ-e-A'ẓam*, Preface, p. 2.
2. Page 181 supra, footnote No. 1.
3. *Ruq'āt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 12.
4. Kullīyāt-e-Ṣafdarī, Chahār *'Unṣur*, p. 86.
5. Pages 21-41, supra.
6. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, p. 96.

In the unseen tavern of Divinity,
The cup-bearer, the wine, and the bacchanal were all drunk together.
The flute, the melody, and the heart-ravishing minstrel,
Were all hidden behind the curtain of the instrument of Unity.]

The last hemistitch of the verses quoted above shows that Pure Being marked its first approach to manifestation in Aḥadīyya (احدیت), i.e. Abstract Oneness. After this Being descended to Wāḥidīyya (واحدیت), i.e. Unity in Plurality, and then the attributes, the contingent, the intelligences, the spirits, the heavens, the elements, and the three kingdoms appeared. This, in brief, is Bedil's scheme of Ontological Devolution. Bedil's purpose in describing this scheme was largely to emphasise Man's position in the Cosmos. Bedil says that Man is the spirit and life of the whole Universe—a Microcosmos in form but Macrocosmos in meaning :

به معنی محیط و به صورت نمی   زموج نفس در قفس عالمی

[An ocean in meaning but a drop in form.
Through a puff of breath, a world in the cage.]

And he therefore tells Man:

زشور تو این بزم دارد خروش   زخاموشی' تست عالم خموش

[Because of your agitation, there is tumult in this world and
The world becomes quiet when you are silent.]

The philosophical aspect of the Mas̱navī ends here, and when, after this discussion of the Ontological Descent of the Absolute, Bedil speaks about the ascent or return to It, the mystical aspect begins. As in the case of devolution, here also Bedil makes only brief references to the final destiny of Man when he is absorbed in the Pure Essence. He says :

بآن نشه جمعی که محرم شوند   زغولی گذ شتند و آدم شوند
ز آدم ملک از ملک نور پاک   چنین ریشه‌ها دارد اسرار پاک

[The people who get acquainted with that secret wine,
Cease to be ghouls, and become Perfect Men.
From Men they rise to the level of angels and thence get access to Pure Essence,
This is the effect of the subline secret]

In the first hemistich of these verses, Bedil speaks of the intoxication of love. In fact the whole of the poem revolves round this single idea, and it would be very useful if I could describe, in detail, Bedil's views about love, but, at present, I must be content with a few remarks only. According to Bedil, Love is a universal passion.

بهر سر هوائی ازین باده است   بهر خرمن این برق افتاده است

[Every head is exhilarated by this wine, and
This lightning has struck every stack.]

It sublimates and elevates :

شرابی کزو سنگ آدم شود   تن مرده روح مجسم شود
ازین باده عفریت اگر بو برد   بفرمان زند وسیان گو برد

[It is a wine which transforms stone into Man, and
Through it a lifeless body becomes an embodiment of spirit.
If a demon only smells this wine,
It will excel the angels in authority.]

Moreover, it enlivens, gives strength and has vast potentialities.

لب پشه زین باده گر تر شود   بسیمرغ و عنقا برابر شود
اگر ذره گردد ازو کامیاب   کشد آئینه بر رخ آفتاب
ازو ساغر قطره دریا شود   دل مور دامان صحرا شود

[If the lips of the mosquito are made moist by this wine,
It will be a match to the monstrous Simurgh and the Phoenix.
If the atom is saturated with it,
It will show a mirror to the Sun
Through it the tiny cup of the drop changes into ocean and
The heart of the ant becomes an extensive Sahara.]

Above all it is because of love that man is delivered from the contaminations of the phenomena :

زصافش توان رستن از آب و گل   زدردش توان کرد تعمیر دل

[Its purity will extricate you from the phenomena and even
From its dregs a heart can be made.]

In the course of this dissertation, Bedil speaks about the Ṣūfīs' spiritual organ, i.e. 'Mind' (دل), whose nature, he says, is intellectual rather than emotional :

دل آن شعلهٔ برق ادراک تست   که پوشیده در صفحهٔ خاک تست

[The heart is that flash of the lightning of perception,
Which is hidden in the page of your dust.]

Bedil refers to the opposite qualities which heart comes to have when it is darkened by sin or illuminated by faith and knowledge. Our mystic asserts, in addition, that not pride of virtue and asceticism, but a humble acknowledgement of one's drawbacks makes one esteemed in the eyes of God :

کمال تراکس خریدار نیست   متاعی بجز نقص درکار نیست
زجنس شکست آنچه پیدا شود   برین آستان قیمتش وا شود

[None will buy your perfections.
The only commodity wanted here is imperfection.
Whatever is offered out of the goods of failings,
Will fetch price at this altar.]

Having described these things Bedil sums up the characteristics of gnostics, He says they observe reticense, but have a warm and

restless soul; they are ever contemplating, ever prepared to bow before God, but always above formal prayers; and they are dignified, humble in spirit, modest, generous, unceremonial, freedom-loving, intoxicated with the love of the Absolute, sharp-witted, and hateful of worldly desires. Bedil has also mentioned the names[1] of Bāyazīd of Bisṭām (261/875), Junaid of Baghdād (297-9/909-11), Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj (309/922), and Jalālud Dīn Rūmī (672/1273), the prominent Ṣufīs of Islam, whom he wishes to follow.

After a passing review of the mystical aspect of the Maṣnavī, we should talk about it as a bacchanalian song. Zuhūrī's (d. 1025 A.H./1616-7 A.D.) celebrated *Sāqīnāma* had won a wide popularity, and it was because of this popularity that, as soon as Bedil's creative talents were developed, he wrote a similar song, incorporating the good points of Zuhūrī, and adding what he thought to be essential. We learn from Bedil himself that he had Zuhūrī in mind when he wrote this poem. Bedil says, at the outset, after the usual doxologies, in the prose-preface to the poem:

این میخانهٔ ظهور حقائق است نه ساقی نامهٔ اشعار ظهوری

[It is the tavern for the revelation of truths and not the Sāqīnāmā of Zuhūrī's verse.]

The fundamental difference between these two poems has been very aptly stated by Khushgū, the biographer of Bedil. Khushgū says[2] that Zūhūrī's Ṣāqīnāma is a poetical composition, but that of Bedil has been written in a mystical strain. This difference becomes all the more clear when both the poems are studied side by side. For example, both the poets have addressed the Cup-bearer in their poems. Zuhūrī's general drift of thought can be gathered from this address:

بیا ساقی ای خرمن گل بیا — تو گل من خزان دیده بلبل بیا
بیا ای خرامنده طاؤس مست — بنه بر سرم پا که رفتم زدست
بیا ای پری نام ساقی لقب — بمن برفشان رشح جام طرب

[Come, O Sāqī, all blossoms as thou art,
Come, come, thou art a rose, and I am a nightingale in the midst of autumn.
Come, O Thou, the strutting drunk peacock, and
Place thy feet on my head, as I am staggering.
Come, O Thou called fairy, and entitled Sāqī, and
Sprinkle on me drops out of the cup of wine.]

But Bedil's Sāqī has quite a different appearance and absolutely a different character. The following verses may be studied:

1. *Muḥīṭ-e-A'ẓam*, pp. 16, 30, 32.
2. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 375.

بیا ساقی ای نور مرآت فیض   بیا ای نشاط خرابات فیض
بیا ساقی ای شور منصور دل   بیا ای گل شعلهٔ طور دل
بیا ساقی ای عیسیٔ روزگار   که افسرده حالم بجیب خمار
بیا ساقی ای بایزید زمان   محیط گهرهائی راز نهان
بیا ای فلاطون اسرار خم   که گردیدام در خم جهل گم

[O Sāqī, thou light of the mirror of (Divine) grace, come hither.
Come hither, O Sāqī, thou exhilaration of the tavern of grace.
O Sāqī, thou agitation of heart's Manṣūr, come hither.
Come hither, O thou the glowing snuff of the flame of the heart's mount Sina.
Come Sāqī, O thou the Christ of the time,
Because I am troubled on account of being in the grip of drunken headache.
Come hither, O Sāqī, thou Bāyazīd of the age,
O thou, the ocean of the pearls of hidden secrets.
O, thou the Plato of the Secrets of the vat of wine, come hither,
As I feel bewildered in the vessel of ignorance.]

It may be seen that Zuhūrī's is an ordinary fair-faced coquettish sāqī, but the sāqī of Bedil is the finest production of the best mystical speculations. I need not dilate on this difference any more, but I would like to say a few words about a few more points where Bedil tried to rival Zuhūrī. To assure the cup-bearer of their burning desire for a cup of wine, both the poets have sworn in an eloquent language, using rich imagery, novel similes and metaphors, and a wealth of sweet and elegant phrases. Zuhūrī had written[1] 95 couplets of Oath, and one could say that the subject had been exhausted by him, but, only half a century after his death, Bedil wrote[2] 123 couplets of the kind, which are of supreme literary value. Similarly, Zuhūrī wrote 15 couplets, in one breath, about heart (دل), and Bedil has written 13. Finally, Zuhūrī was very fond of employing[3] the figure antithesis (صنعت تضاد), and very charming instances of this are found in his *Sāqīnama* also. Bedil, too, used this figure in *Muḥīṭ-e-A'ẓam* with equal success. For example, these verses from the Oath :

به گلگونهٔ چهرهٔ . اشتیاق   بعنابیٔ اشک چشم فراق
بهوشی که دارد لب بیهشی   بحرفیکه دارد لب خامشی

[I swear) by the rouge of the face of longing ;
By the redness of the tear of the eye of separation,

1. Zuhūrī, *Sāqīnāma*, (Maṭba'-e-Muṣṭafāī Press), pp. 23-27.
2. *Muḥīṭ-e-Āẓam*, Panjab University Library Mss. No. 1524 ; fs. 82-86. In the *Kullīyāt-e-Safdarī* only 77 couplets have been given.
3. 'Abdun Nabī *Maikhāna* (*Ḥawāshī*) ed. Muḥammad Shafī, p. 63.

By the consciousness possessed by the head of unconsciousness, and
By the talk made by the lips of silence.]

In view of the categorical difference between the two *Sāqīnāmas*, it is not difficult to imagine how Bedil would describe the wine, the cup, the goblet, the vat, the tavern, the tavern-hunters, and the different musical instruments placed in the tavern. They have all been assigned a symbolical significance. This peculiarity Bedil had consistently in view even while talking of his Metaphysics in the Maṣnavī. He begins with Pure Being, and notice how the bacchanalian terminology has been employed :

خوش آندم که دربزمگاه قدم   مئی بودبی نشهٔ کیف و کم
منزه زاندیشهٔ حادثات   مبرا ز درد غبار صفات
نه مرهون طبع و نه محتاج کام   منزه ز تسخیر مینا و جام

[How pleasant the times when in the Banquet House of Eternity,
There was a wine without its effects,
Transcending the thought of the temporal, and
Free from the dregs of the dust of Attributes.
It was neither indebted to appetite nor in need of throat, and
Was beyond the reach of the goblet and the cup.]

It is, of course, a very appropriate beginning and indicative of the earnestness of Bedil's soul. Indeed, the passionate way in which Bedil has sung of the wine and the flowing running verses of the *Sāqīnāma*, like the surging torrents coming downhill, make the poem an inspiring reading.

Now about the poem as a vernal song. There is no dearth of poetry, about the splendour and joy of the spring, in Persian literature, and almost every poet has sung about the rose-garden, the nightingale, and the meandring sweet streams. Bedil, therefore, inherited aesthetic taste from his forerunners. This, however, goes to his credit that, because of his vivid imagination and powerful description, he produced exceedingly beautiful poetry, whenever he talked about things of beauty. In this poem he has described, at length, the bloom of the spring in an exquisite manner, and I would like to quote a few verses :

بهاریکه در باغ توصیف او   نفس می شود غنچهٔ رنگ و بو
هوائی که از نکهت وصف آن   رگ برگ گل شد بسخن بر زبان
زبس میچکد موج رنگ از هوا   چو جام است لبریز مئی نقش پا
زرنگش اگر بهره یابد نظر   شود برگ گل پرده چشم تر

[It is a spring in describing which
The breath turns into a bud of colour ad smell.

It is the air through the fragrance of whose praise
The speech on the tongue is changed into the vein of the rose-petal.
A wave of colour trickles down the air, and
The footprint is overfull, with wine, like the cup.
If the eye gets a share from its colour,
The wet eyelid becomes the virtual rose-petal.]

Notice the sense of beauty, particularly in the last hemistich. Bedil had indeed a novel creative experience. While speaking about his state of mind, during the composition of this poem, he says, "At the time when the Vernal Ode of *Muḥīṭ-e-A'ẓam* was taking form, and the oasis of its usefulness was developing, freshness, with the hue of the conceits of a hundred gardens, gracefully moved in the imagination; and elegance, with the beauty of a world of eloquence, pleasingly appeared before the mental eye."[1] Here Bedil talks about his conceits, his imagery, and his eloquence, and one who reads this description of the spring and goes through the Maṣnavī will surely reap a rich crop of these things.

I have spoken above about all the aspects of the Maṣnavī—philosophical, mystical, emotional and aesthetic—and have made references to its peculiarities. It is indeed one of the great Maṣnavīs of Persian language, and in fact a masterpiece of our poet. In it the young poet sang of wine, love, and beauty, and of his aspirations for a high ideal. His emotions had been sublimated by his apprenticeship as a mystic and this lent a novel charm to his poem. Like an ambitious thoughtful youth, the poet tried to cover the whole of Reality by his Philosophy. Such an all-embracing poem, making an impassioned appeal alike to the heart and to the mind, ought to have been received warmly by the public, but it is a pity that it was not popular in the beginning, and when Bedil sent[2] it, with some of his Ghazals, to 'Āqil Khān Rāzī, he had to pray:

یا رب که این نفسها به موزونی متهم و این عبارها بنارسائی علم از پرتو محفل آفتاب منزل شمع اعتباری روشن نمایند

[May these utterances, which are accused of having rhyme, and these expressions, which are known for their unpopularity, light the candle of honour through the reflection of that assembly, which is the destination of the sun.]

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1. Kulliyāt-e-Ṣafdari, *Chahār 'Unṣur*, p. 86. Bedil writes:

فصلی که بهاریهٔ محیط اعظم به نظم ترتیب رسید و نخلستان فوائدش به نشو و نمائی تحریر کشید برنگینئی معانئی هزار چمن شگفتگی در تصور آباد خیال نازش داشت و به گلفروشئی عبارات یک جهان آب و رنگ در جلوه گه نظر طراوت می کاشت۔

2. *Ruq'āt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 18.

This prayer was granted and a time arrived when people eagerly requested[1] the poet to give them copies of this Maṣnavī, and, I am sure, because of its sterling virtues, it will always be studied with undiminished interest.

2. ṮILISM-E-ḤAIRAT

Bedil wrote this Maṣnavi in 1080 A.H.[2] (1669 A.D.) according to the following chronogram.[3]

کهن تاریخی عقل زمان یاب   پی تاریخ نطقش بود بیتاب
سر اندیشه تا دزدید در جیب   برون آورد گنج از عالم غیب

Bedil had joined the Army[4] after his marriage in 1079 A.H. (1668 A.D.), and we, therefore, come to the conclusion that he was still in the service of Prince A'ẓam Shāh when the Maṣnavī was written. I think his sad experience about *Muḥīṭ-e-A'ẓam* had taught Bedil that the new Maṣnavī could be a success if it was dedicated to a scholar-courtier[5] of the reputation of 'Āqil Khān Rāzī. The poet was, therefore, overjoyed when he learnt that the grand noble had agreed. He thanked him and wrote :[6]

صد شکر که برد نامه ام رنگ قبول   بیدل بودم هزار دل گردیدم

[Numberless thanks to God, as my request in the letter has been granted.
I was without even a single heart, and now I possess a thousand.]

But this dedication did not fulfil the expectations entertained by Bedil. He, therefore, sent it to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān the son-in-law of 'Āqil Khān Rāzī, and at the end of the introductory letter[7] he wrote :

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1. Page 121 supra.

2. Sprenger's apprehensions about his inability to solve the chronogram were not baseless. He has given 1125 A.H. (1713 A.D.), as the date of the composition of this Maṣnavī, which is palpably incorrect. 'Āqil Khān, to whom the book was dedicated, and Shukrullah Khān, to whom it was sent by Bedil, both died in 1108 A.H. (1696 A.D.). It is, therefore, clear that Sprenger's attempts at solving the chronogram have proved infructuous, and that Ethe and the author of the Bankipur catalogue have both followed Sprenger, in this respect, in an uncritical spirit. The solution of the chronogram is not at all difficult. If we subtract 73, the numerical value of گنج, from 1153, the numerical value of عالم غیب, we get 1080, the Hijrī year of the Maṣnavī's composition. For the references in this note see Sprenger, *Oudhe Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, p. 379 ; Ethe, *India Office Library Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, under No. 1684 ; *Bankipur Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, under No. 382.

3. Kulliyāt-e-Ṣafdari, *Ṯilism-e-Ḥairat*, p. 9.

4. Page 60 supra.

5. Page 56 supra ? 'Āqil Khān Rāzī wrote also *Waqi'at-e-Ālamgīrī* also.

6. *Ruq'āt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 5.

7. Ibid., p. 3.

شاد باش ای دل که آخر عقده ات وا می شود
قطرهٔ ما می رسه جائیکه دریا می شود

[Feel delighted, O my heart, because your knot is after all being opened.
My drop will reach the place where it will turn into an ocean.]

The Khān gave headings[1] to the different sections of the Maṡnavī and prepared a summary of its contents. It was, therefore, this Maṡnavī which established the happiest[2] relations between these two persons, and, although in point of theme, depth of feelings, and spontaniety of expresison, this Maṡnavī is inferior to *Muḥīṭ-e-A'ẓam*, yet for practical purposes it proved more fruitful, because with it Bedil's place as a poet was recognised.

In the Maṡnavī, as well as in his *Ruq'āt*, Bedil has referred to the circumstances in which the Maṡnavī was written. He had settled[3] in Dehlī after his marriage. He found there many poets, having voluminous[4] Dīwāns, who attended mainly to niceties of expression, fanciful conceits, and conventional poetry, but they lacked thoughts. On the other hand, there were poets who had thoughts, but their verse lacked the necessary decorative element. While sending *Ṭilism-e-Ḥairat* to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, Bedil remarked[5] :

These days the people, who attract our notice by the freshness of their colourful expression, show utter disregard for meaning ; and the persons, who, on account of their regard for the meaning, boastfully talk of their originality of mind, attach no value to the elegance of expression. The meanings, therefore, are like the melody hidden in some unknown musical instrument, and the language consists of unintelligible songs.

When Bedil observed these defects in the compositions of his contemporary poets, he decided to effect a reform. He wanted to write something which should be the positive counterpart of what he had seen in other poets. He wished that in his composition the ideas and their expression should balance each other in a most beautiful manner. He prayed[6] to God for a suitable theme, and one night he was thinking deeply, when all of a sudden an idea flashed in his mind. It began to develop and very soon his mind was full of ideas :

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1. See *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 63.
2. Page 84 supra.
3. Page 60 supra.
4. *Kulliyāt-e-Ṣafdarī*, *Ṭilism-e-Ḥairat*, p. 9.
5. *Ruq'āt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 3.
6. *Kulliyāt-e-Ṣafdarī*, *Ṭilism-e-Ḥairat*, p. 8.

هجوم آورد چندین معنیٔ راز   که بستن از عبارت کرد پرواز
زدل تا لب معانی بر معانی   برنگ نقش پائی کاروانی

[So many secret meanings gathered
That they flew off the grips of language.
There were meanings piled over meanings right from the heart to the lip,
Like the footprints of a caravan.]

He, therefore, commenced writing this Masnavī, and when he finished it he was satisfied with the result. Later, when he was sending it to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, he wrote[1] :

> Consequently it is ages since the language of *Tilism-e-Hairat* of Bedil has crept into the narrow corners of the meanings, and its meanings have concealed themselves under the cover of the words.

He was complaining against the bad taste of the people who could not appreciate a poem in which thought and expression had balanced each other beautifully. This shows Bedil's opinion about this Masnavī.

Tilism-e-Hairat is an allegorical Masnavī. It begins with a description of the Essence and Attributes of God, and of the scheme of creation. From a study of the contents of this part of the Masnavī one concludes that, while writing it, Bedil had in view this verse of the Holy Qur'ān (lvii. 3) :

هوالاول ولاخر والظاهر والباطن

[He is the First and the Last and the Ascendant (overall) and the Knower of all hidden things.]

Here Bedil's prayer :

شوم رازی که در گفتن نگنجم   زنم جوشی که در من در نگنجم

[May I change into inexpressible secret, and
May I feel overpowering excitement !]

for the development of his own self brings to our mind his following verse in *Muhīt-e-A'zam* :

کنم گرم هنگامهٔ ساز خویش   نگنجم به پیراهن راز خویش

[My frame should get uproarious like a musical instrument,
So much so that the covering of my secret may not be able to contain me.]

It means he was still passing through the formative period of his life, of which he was fully aware. After this he praises the Holy Prophet in a very original manner :

زبانم قابل حمد خدا شد   که با نام محمد آشنا شد
زهی نامی که جان دیوانهٔ اوست   بم و زیر جهان پروانهٔ اوست

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1. *Ruq'āt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 3.

دو عالم چون صدف در هم شکستم که آمد گوهر نامش بدستم
دل از تفسیر این اسم است آگاه ز رمز معنی الحمد لله

[My tongue was able to praise God,
Because it got acquainted with the name of the praised one.
How excellent the name, for which the soul is frenzied with love, and
Everything in the world loves it passionately.
When I opened both the worlds like the pearl-oyster,
Lo, the pearl of his name was in my hands.
Through an explanation of this name the heart knows
The mystery of the meaning of "All praise is due to Allah."]

The simple and unadorned language of the verses, the gradual development of the idea, and the sublime and graceful thought contained in them are simply wonderful. From the metaphysical point of view, the Prophet has been represented as Logos—the doctrine which tends to identify the essence of Muḥammad (حقیقت محمدیه) "with the active principle of revelation in the Divine Essence." This idea seems to have been borrowed[1] from Muḥyud Dīn Ibnul 'Arabī (638, 1240) and 'Abdul Karīm ibn Ibrāhīm al-Jīlī (b. 1365-6 A.D., d. 1406-17 A.D.), but probably from the former[2]. The following verse of Bedil may be studied in this connection :

ظهورش غازهٔ تقید آفاق بطونش بی نیازیهای اطلاق

[His externality is the rouge of the confines of the Universe, and
His internality is the majesty of the Absolute.]

The summary of the Maṡnavī now follows. Soul, the monarch of the exalted Dominion of Holiness, came down to have a walk through the sub-lunary world, and resided in a pleasant place, called body, which is governed by phlegm, blood, yellow bile, and black bile—the four humours. The king selected for itself three citadels, one of them being brain, this citadel had ten stations, and at every station there was a master, their names being : the five senses (hearing, sight, smell, taste, and touch), commonsense, fancy, reflection, imagination and memory. The last five are the internal senses. After this the soul, i.e. the king, moved towards the citadel of Liver, where there were eight teachers—nourishment, growth, generation, figuration, attraction, retention, digestion, and expulsion. The third citadel was the heart where six persons resided. They were

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1. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, pp. 87, 104 foll., 154 foll.
2. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942. Khushgū has remarked that Bedil was inspired by Ibnal 'Arabi. Khān Ārzū also said in his elegy of Bedil :

ابن العربی بود به فرسی

[He was Ibnul 'Arabī in Persian language.]

hope, fear, affection, enmity, pleasure, and sorrow. The king, i.e. soul, drove away sorrow, fear and enmity from the heart and indulged in merry-making. But soon there was trouble and the king fell ill on account of the mutual jealousy of the humours and the conspiracy of the unpleasant emotions which had been driven out of the heart. Pleasure and affection asked the soul to approach beauty and love in this connection. Beauty and love, however, refused to help. Hope then invited reason who, out of compassion, came and was useful to a certain extent, but the situation deteriorated with the onset of weakness. Then resolution stood in good stead: the patient turned the corner and soon recovered. Now beauty formed a sincere alliance with the king, and then love too arrived. The king experienced bewilderment and restlessness, but was told that he could not attain his object without self-renunciation. The king, relying upon Trust and accompanied by Love, had a walk through the Realm of Belovedness; and, beginning with the feet, he saw the charms of the calfs, the legs, the buttocks, the waist, the belly, the navel, the breast, the waists, the neck, the mole, the down, the dimple, the tresses, the lips, the mouth, the cheeks, the nose, the eyes, the eyebrows, the forehead, the curling lock, and the stature. As the king wanted to see Absolute Beauty, he then moved to the Realm of Lovingness. In this realm the lands of blame and misery, the valley of separation, and the region of body (اقلیم بدن) were seen one by one. In spite of his prolonged wanderings through the realms of Belovedness and Lovingness, the king's object was not attained, and naturally he was disheartened and disappointed. Love now told the king that both the realms were illusory, and that his own self was the Reality which prevailed everywhere. When the king found it out, he raised his eyes to have a look at his own self, and:

جہانی دید پاک از عرض صورت　　بہاری فارغ از رنگ کدورت

[He saw a realm free from the accident of form, and
The bloom of a spring immune from the taint of dust.]

It was the realm were the Absolute Essence of God had sway. Here the Masnavī reaches its end, and the poet reminds us of the import of this saying:

من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربه

[He who knows his own self knows God.]

It is clear that the Masnavī has a very coherent plot. Nothing inconsistent has been introduced. The soul's stay in the body, the different faculties that serve it, the causes of its troubles, the ways in which those troubles can be alleviated, and the nature of its real destiny in the world have all been described with a scrupulous regard for proportion. Interest has been created by the lively debate

between the humours, the illustrative use of apt similes and metaphors, and by a description of the prolonged journeys of the soul as a monarch, which fact has introduced the element of movement in the Maṣnavī. While going through the summary of the poem one feels, when the humours and faculties are named, that it is a philosophical poem, having dry and tasteless discussions; but the treatment of the subject-matter, and the poet's rich imagination have changed it into a romance. The artistic description of the beauty points, the emotional tension, and the soft and tender language have collectively produced a romantic effect. The didactic element comes in only incidentally and appears to be a natural development of the idea, and then after a moment the narrative goes on as before. The poem is, therefore, a great success in conception as well as in execution. The poet's claim that thought and expression should balance each other has been well established in the Maṣnavī. The following two verses, about jealousy and revengeful spirit, would serve as an example:

شرار کینه هر جا شعله کار است اگر کهسار باشد پنبه زار است
حسد را در ضعیفی سهل مشمار دم خنجر زباریکیست خونخوار

[Wherever the spark of vindictiveness produces flames,
Even if it be a mountain, it takes fire like cotton.
Don't belittle jealousy because of its weakness,
It is the thinness of a dagger's blade which makes it blood-thirsty.]

The Maṣnavī has 3,500 verses and has been written in هزج مسدس محذوف, the famous metre of the world-renowned *Maṣnavī Yūsuf Zulaikha* of Jāmī.

3. ṬŪR-E-MA'RIFAT

This Maṣnavī was written when Bedil went[1] to Bairāt with Nawāb Shukrullah Khān after he had finally settled in Dehlī. Bedil says that when the armies of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān moved[2] to that place, he too accompanied, because, a poor man as he was, he could not make the necessary arrangements for the journey, which he was most anxious to undertake.

Now, we see Nawāb Shukrullah Khān fighting[3] against the rebellious Narūka, Bajjī Ram and his seven sons, in Mewāt, in 1097 A.H. (1685-6 A.D.), and the Nawāb comes back[4] to Dehlī in 1099 A.H. (1687-8 A.D.), with victorious colours, after he had completely routed[5]

1. Page 91 supra.
2. Kulliyāt-e-Ṣafdarī, *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat*, p. 4.
3. Kulliyāt-e-Ṣafdarī, *Qiṭ'āt*, p. 49.
4. Ibid, p. 51.
5. Ibid.

the Narūkas in 1098 A.H. (1686-7 A.D.). One can say, therefore, that Bedil went to Mewāt when Nawāb Shukrullah Khān proceeded to fight against Bajjī Ram. But this Maṣnavī does not indicate at any place that the poet lived in Mewāt in the midst of active armies and constant warfare. On the other hand, it appears that the Maṣnavī was written at a time when there was perfect calmness all around, and when both, Bedil and Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, could peacefully enjoy[1] the scenery of the place, and could find leisure to describe[2] it in verse. A few verses of Bedil disclose[3] that, before he went to Mewāt, he had heard much about the beautiful scenery of Bairāt. In all likelihood it was Nawāb Shukrullah Khān who told Bedil about the charms of the place, and the Nawāb could not do it before his return from Mewāt in 1099 A.H. (1687-8 A.D.). Moreover, immediately[4] after his final arrival in Dehlī in 1096 A.H. (1684-85 A.D.), Bedil asked Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, in a letter, to arrange permanent residential quarters for him; and from this we form the conclusion that when Bedil arrived in Dehlī from Mathura, with his family, in 1096 A.H. (1684-85 A.D.), Nawāb Shukrullah Khān was already in Mewāt, and, therefore, Bedil had to request for the house in a letter. All this shows that Bedil did not go to Mewāt when the Nawāb's armies first moved towards the place. Āzād Bilgrāmī says that Nawāb Shukrullah Khān was the Governor (Faujdār) of Mewāt till he died there[5] in 1108 A.H. (1696 A.D.). I am, therefore, of the opinion[6] that Bedil accompanied Nawāb Shukrullah Khān when he went to Mewāt for the second time after 1099 A.H. (1687-8 A.D.), and it was then that the Maṣnavī *Ṭur-e-Ma'rifat* was written.

The Maṣnavī has been written in the metre[7] of *Tilism-e-Ḥairat*, which Bedil wrote about twenty nine years before in 1080 A.H. (1669 70 A.D.). It has two names : *Ṭūr-e-Ma'rifat* and *Gulgasht-e-Ḥaqīqat*, which occur in Bedil's Ruq'āt[8] as well as in the Maṣnavī[9] itself. It was

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1. Kulliyāt-e-Ṣafdarī, *Ṭūr-e-Ma'rifat*, p. 4. Here Bedil tells how he was pleased to see the scenery.
2. Kulliyāt-e-Ṣafdarī, *Ṭūr-e-Ma'rifat*, p. 19. Here Bedil remarks that Nawāb Shukrullah Khan also wrote a poem describing the charming scenery.
3. Kulliyāt-e-Ṣafdarī, *Ṭūr-e-Ma'rifat*. p. 4.
4. Page 89 supra.
5. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 149.
6. In this connection see p. 91 supra also.
7. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 375.
8. *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, pp. 34, 49, 63, 46.
9. Kulliyāt-e-Ṣafdarī, *Ṭūr-e-Ma'rifat*, pp. 2, 19. The following verses

زطور معرفت معنی سرایم　　بچندین کوه می نازد صدایم
بیمنش آخر این مکتوب منظوم　　به طور معرفت گردید موسوم

written in two[1] days and has about 1,200 couplets.[2] The Masnavi describes the scenes, during the rainy season, of Bairāt[3] which is a town in Mewāt. The following introductory remarks,[4] in prose,

آغاز بیان سیر بیراٹ و تحقیق سواد قدرت آیات

given at the top of the first section of the poem, make a reference to its character and declare that the poem is primarily a description of the scenery of Nature

Bairāt is surrounded,[5] on all sides by low and bare red hills, and when, having crossed the rugged hilly ranges, one gets at once a glimpse of the circular valley, having very fine and abudant trees, with a beautiful town in its midst, one is surprised to see the fascinating scenery. The valley is about 2½ miles in diameter,[6] and from seven to eight miles in circuit. The valley, therefore, appears like the exquisite gem of a ring. Says Bedil :

زبس ذوق طواف آن صنم زار — چو مشتاقان بگردش گشته کهسار
فلک نازید بر انگشتر بنش — که حاصل شد نگینی چون زمینش

[On account of his intense desire to walk round the beautiful place,
The mountain circumambulated like the lovers.
The sky was proud of its ring,
Because it got a gem like its ground.]

When Bedil was in Bairāt, it was the rainy season, and the skies were overcast with clouds, with all those glories for which the monsoons in India are known far and wide. Bedil, who, being a mystic poet with a fine aesthetic taste, was much influenced by the sublime and the elegant, could not but be moved by these scenes. He says :

کنون در کوه بیراٹ آب و رنگ است
که هر یک بهر دل بردن فرنگ است

1. Kulliyāt-e-Ṣafdari, *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat*, p. 19. The following verse :

دو روزی در پس زانو نشستم — خیالی زا بهاری نقش بستم

[I sat meditating for a couple of days, and
Turned a thought into the spring.]

2. It is strange that according to Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 375, the number of couplets is 3,000. The Manuscript, as well as the published, copies of the Masnavi, which I could lay may hands upon, have only 1,200 couplets, and also no catalogue of Persian Mss. gives a larger number.

Khushgū has also said that the maximum number of verses, that Bedil could write in a day, was 500, and when Bedil himself says this Masnavi was written in two days, how can the number of the couplets of the Masnavi be 3,000 ?

3. Page 92 supra.

4. *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat*, Ms., Panjab University Library No. 1526, f. b.

5. Cunningham, A., *The Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 340-42.

6. Ibid., pp. 340-42.

[At present there is so much of light and colour in the hills of Bairāt,
That every one of them captivates the heart like a French beauty.]

Although Bedil has said that in writing this Masnavī he followed[1] Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, who had written a poem describing the scenery of Bairāt, yet there is no denying the fact that Bedil himself was much impressed by the scenery, and as a consequence the creative urge was so powerful and the inspirational thrill, in his imagination as well in his emotions, was so acute that he could not express himself adequately in verse. He says sorrowfully:

زلگشت حقیقیت تر زبانم — بصد منقار می بالد زبانم
نوای ساز مطلب صور خیز است — ولی گه رقم خط سرمه ریز است
اگر از خط نمی شد سرمه اندود — معانی شور چندیں حشر می بود

[I have become eloquent on account of my walk through the valley of Reality, and
My tongue has grown into a thousand beaks.
The sound of the meaning's instrument plays riot,
But at the time of composition this sound is silenced.
If composition had not silenced them,
The meanings would have produced the tumult of the Resurrection.]

This Masnavī, therefore, does not consist of Nature-Poetry conventionally indulged in by Persian poets, but here we find a poet who sings about Nature because he must. A spontaneous production of this kind deserves careful consideration, and I shall, therefore, pause here for some time in spite of the limits imposed by my thesis.

As a piece of descriptive poetry of Nature, this Masnavī shows that Bedli had a highly developed and comprehensive landscape sense. Beginning with the small particles of dust and earth, he describes meadows, gardens, flowers, thorns, mountains, waterfalls, springs, clouds, raindrops, bubbles, the sky, and the evenings, and the mornings. The pictures drawn are under particular moments, and under particular moods. In the brief description of the Bairāt town, with its surroundings, Bedil speaks of all the objects mentioned above, with such a regard for the minutest details, that at the end of the section the complete picturesque scene of Bairāt appears before our eyes with all its brilliance.. Not content with this, Bedil describes all the objects of Nature separately, and then he makes a magnificient display of his powers of description, his keen observation, and his vivid imagination. See for example the clouds with contrasts of shade:

1. *Ruq'āt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 64. Kulliyāt-e-Ṣafdari, *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat*, p. 19. In the Ruq'āt Bedil informed Āqil Khān Rāzī that Shukrullah Khan's poem inspired him to write *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat*.

اگر ابر سیاهی قطره پیماست کواکب ریزی دامان شبهاست
وگر ابر سفید آتش عنان است همان صبح طرب شبنم فشان است

[If the black could showers drops, it looks as if
The stars are coming down the skirt of night.
And if the white cloud breaks loose, it appears
The very joyful dawn is sprinkling dew-drops.]

Now he describes the stationary interwoven black clouds with rain-drops coming down :

چه ابر آئینهٔ ناز گل و مل بهار صد شبستان زلف و کاکل
ولی زلفی که از یک جنبش باد هزاران دل تواند کرد ایجاد

[What cloud ?—the mirror of the blandishments of the Rose
and wine, and
The delight of a hundred closets of tresses and curls.
But they are like a lock of hair, which by a slight movement
in the air,
Can invent a thousand hearts.]

But the realistic effect, when Bedil describes the flying clouds with flashes of lightning, is splendid :

گهی از ابر بر آفاق خندد گهی بر خاک سیل گریه خندد
به تیغ کوه گاهی سینه مالد گهی گیرد ره دشت و بنالد

[At times it laughs at the world through the clouds, and
At times lets down a stream of tears on the dust.
Sometimes it rubs its breast against the mountain-peak, and
At one time flies away to meadows and weeps.]

The falling of rain-drops is a scene where Bedil's creative imagination is at its best :

گهرهائی محیط عالم پاک زغلطانی روان تادامن خاک
جهان روشن چراغ بزم اقبال ازین پروانه هائی بی پر و بال
به آهنگ چکیدن بسته محمل زاوج بیخودی یک کاروان دل

[The pearls of the ocean of the sublime world
Roll down to the ground through roundness.
The world appears to be the bright lamp of an august
assembly,
Because of these wingless moths,
With the object of dropping down, is journeying
A caravan of hearts from the highest point of rapture.]

Brilliant metaphors of this kind continue for a considerable length.

Here and there in the Masnavi one comes across fantastic exaggerations, for example :

هوائیش طبع را چندان مقویست
که آنجا بی نفس هم می توان زیست

[Its climate is so invigorating,
[That there one can live even without breathing.

زمیر ایش گر حرفی نوشتی
توان در جوئی مسطر راند کشتی
وضوئی گر کند زاهد باین آب
عصا فواره گردد سبحه دولاب

[If you write a word about its dampness,
A boat can be plied in the stream of the ruler.
If the ascetic makes ablutions with this water,
His staff will turn into a water-spouting spring and his rosary will become a water-wheel.]

But it will be seen that these exaggerations have their origin in reality, and hence these may be termed simply instances of معنی آفرینی which was the predominant literary trend of Bedil's times. In this Maṣnavī, when Bedil says at one place :

بهر سو لمعهٔ نظاره تیز است

[From every direction the rays of the scenes dazzle the eyes.]

and thus emphasises the descriptive nature of the poem, at another place he makes a reference to its conceits also :

ز تنزیهش معانی حسن بیرنگ

[On account of its transcendence the meanings assume a colourless beauty.]

These extravagant expressions, therefore, may be viewed in this context.

A study of the colour-sense of Bedil is equally interesting. The damp climate, the varying hues of the sky, and the dust-washed brilliance of the scenery gave an opportunity to Bedil to make an extraordinay display of his colour-sense. The splendour of the rainbow has been described in this way :

گر از وصف قزح گیرد بیان رنگ   ببالد از زمین تا آسمان رنگ
چگویم چیست این نقش تحیر   که خم شد این زمان دوش تفکر
رگ ابر بهارستان نیرنگ   طلسم ریشهٔ درویش در چنگ
پر طاؤس صرف رشتهٔ دام   خیال لعل تو خط بر لب جام

[If expression gets coloured by the description of rainbow
Right from the earth to the sky, the colour would grow.
What should I say about this wonderful painting ?
Because this time have bent the shoulders of thinking.
It is the streak of the cloud of a marvellous spring.
Or the talisman of the tassel of a carefree person is in hand.
Or the peacock's feathers have been used as the strings of snare.

working in his mind in the following[1] verses :

زهر سنگی عیان بی قیل و قالی سرمستی و زانوی خیالی
نمیدانم بایں مستان چه روداد که هر جا هر کدام افتاد افتاد

[Indisputably through every stone one can see
The head of a drunkard on the knees of thought.
I don't know what happened to these tipsy people,
Because everyone remained where he happened to be.]

When we have studied these verses, we almost feel persuaded to show utmost reverence to the stones :

مباد اینجا زنی بر سنگ دستی که مینا در بغل خفته است مستی

[Be careful, you don't strike your hands against a stone,
Because a person drunk may be asleep with a goblet under his arm.]

And this is the climax. Sympathies with inanimate Nature are here unique and supreme. Elsewhere, in this poem, Bedil's aesthetic taste finds lovely virgins in the stones :

براه انتظار ماست دلتنگ پریزاد شرر در شیشهٔ سنگ

[On account of having waited for us for a long time, are aggrieved
The fairy-born sparks in the glass of stone.]

In conjunction with this depth and universality of feeling we find the undercurrent of another thought running in the mind of the poet. We have already studied his views about Man as the epitome[2] of creation. His belief about the vast potentialities of the microcosm urges him to regard every smaller object with respect and honour, and he appears to have the idea that all objects of the kind have similar potentialities. About the bubble he says[3]:

که عمر خضر باندازِ حبابش

[From its bubble would grow the life of Khiẓr—the Prophet Iliās].

The drop is described in this way[4] :

کدام می قطره شوقی آرمیده ز دقت بحر در گوهر خزیده

[What drop ?—Eagerness personified.
Through subtlety an ocean hidden in a pearl.]

Similarly, the thorn[5], according to Bedil, is not a commonplace thing :

بن هر خار صد گلشن در آغوش

[The tip of every thorn has a hundred gardens in its bosom.]

And the microscopic particle of dust:[6]

1. Kulliyat-e-Ṣafdari, *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat*, p. 10.
2. Page 247 supra.
3. *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat* p. 4.
4. Ibid., p. 6.
5. Ibid., p. 4.
6. Ibid.

دل هر ذره اش تخم بهاری

[The heart of everyone of its atoms is the seed of a spring season.]

And lastly as regards a handful[1] of dust, Bedil has a similar belief:

نهان در هر کف خاکی جهانیست

[In every handful of dust a universe is hidden.]

These ejaculations tell that it is the poet's own self[2] speaking through the smaller objects.

This influence of Bedil's Metaphysics brings into limelight the intellectual element in his poetry, and we are reminded that in his poetry, mysticism, and philosophy are all one. So far as this Masnavī *Ṭūr-e-Ma'rifat* is concerned, we learn from Bedil's *Ruq'āt* that he himself was fully aware of this unity of thought in this poem. To Nawāb Shukrullah Khān he wrote[3]:

معنی نوازا - طور معرفت از هجوم دیدهٔ انتظار سامان یک عالم چراغا نست و به ہوائی نثار آن کلیم ایمن حقیقت صدهزار گوهر معنی بدامان

[Patron of Learning! *Ṭūr-e-Ma'rifat*, on account of a crowd of waiting eyes, has equipment for the illuminations of a world and, in order to make an offering to that interlocutor with God, in the Secure Valley of Reality, it has in its skirt a hundred thousand pearls of conceits.]

In this sentence it has been told that the Masnavī embodies poetry, mysticism, and philosophy. Again, to 'Āqil Khān Rāzī[4] he wrote that it is گلگشت حقیقت, i.e. the Pleasure Ground of Reality. Similarly, to Mīrzā 'Ibādullah[5] he intimated that the poem has لمعات حقیقت i.e. Rays of Reality. But while writing to Mīrzā Muhammad Amīn 'Irfān[6] the reference was a bit more elaborate:

در تعمیم عبارتش مدعای خاص مندرج توان یافت واز تخصیص معنیش حقیقتی اخص می توان شگافت

[In the general terms of its language, a particular idea has been couched, and from its special purpose the most special truth can be discovered.]

If I speak at length about all the aspects of this Masnavī, I shall only be repeating what I have said elsewhere in the foregoing pages

1. *Ṭūr-e-Ma'rifat.*, p.6

2. It is because of this that he again forcefully urged in this Masnavī to study self:

معمائی معمائی معما اگر خواهی کشودن چشم بکشا

[You are a riddle, a riddle, a riddle,
If you wish to solve it, open your eyes.]

3. *Ruq'āt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 49.

4. Ibid. p. 64.

5. Ibid., p. 46.

6. Ibid., p. 34.

of this work. I shall, however, quote a few verses to show how symbollically the poet enumerates the characteristics of a gnostic. He writes about the bubble :

زهی وضع حباب بی سر و پا — که حیرانی ز نقش اوست پیدا
نفس در دامن دل پاشکسته — نگه به شرم غفلت دیده بسته
دل و ضبط نفس داماں پائیش — نگاه و چشم تر رو وقفائیش
اگرچشم است بر عرش نظر نیست — وگرپا از خودش بیرون سفر نیست
چو ساغر پادشاه عالم آب — کلاه آرای ناز از وضع آداب
حیا چون چشم حصن آهنیش — خموشی همچولب نقش نگینش
سبکروحی وقار امتیازش — تهی از خود شدن سامان نازش

[How excellent is the round shape of the bubble.
Its very form expresses bewilderment.
Its breath has stopped dead in its heart, and
Its glance has closed itself because of shamefulness for negligence.
It is out and out a heart with self-restraint, and
From every side it is a glance and a wet eye.
If it is an eye it does not look towards others, and
If it is a foot it does not journey out of itself,
Like the cup it is the monarch of the realm of water, and
By observing the rules of decorum it feels exultant.
Modesty, like the eye-pit, is its steel-fort, and
Silence, like the lip, is the painting on its gem :
Lightness of spirit is its proud distinction, and
Self-renunciation is the cause of its dignity.]

Moreover, Bairāt was known for its copper[1] mines. While speaking of the mines and the mineral wealth[2] of the place, Bedil had occasion to criticise the wealthy people on account of their "stone-heartedness" and their pride. He is, however, all praise for those rich persons who are humane and good.

As regards the literary peculiarities of the Maṣnavī we find the same soft and elegant expression, the same fresh and fair combinations of words, the same original conceits, the same materialisations[3] of

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1. Cunningham, *An Ancient Geography of India*, p. 342
2 *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat*, pp. 11-12.
3. For example :

حدیث سبزه اش زیب بیان شد — سخن تا گل کند طوطی عیان شد

[The talk of its verdure adorned the expression, and hence
The talk appeared in the form of a green parrot.

زمهتابش اگر گیرد سخن تاب — چکد از جبههٔ حسن بیان آب

If the verse borrows lustre from its moonlight,
Brilliance will trickle from the forehead of graceful expression.

the abstract, the same lively discussion[1] of the abstruse, and the same emotional flow and thrill for which Bedil has been praised in these pages. The traits, which distinguish this Maṣnavī from the other works of Bedil, have however been mentioned here and there in the course of discussion. The Maṣnavī occupies a unipue place in Persian literature, because, although the great Persian poets like Firdausī (d. 416/1025-6), Minuchihrī (d.433/1041), Niẓāmī of Ganja (d. 599/1202-3), Sa'dī (d. 1291 A.D.) and others have described Nature[2] in their own way in their works, *Ṭūr-e-Ma'rifat* of Bedil is almost the only Maṣnavī whose theme is Nature - poetry,[3] and if in it there are references to other topics, philosophical or mystical they are only casual.

4. 'IRFĀN

This Maṣnavī was completed by Bedil in 1124 A.H. (1712 A.D.) according to the following chronogram given at its end, which at the same time serves the purpose of dedication:

کرده تاریخ او نیاز کرام   هدیهٔ ذوالجلال والاکرام

Khushgū says[4] that the Maṣnavī was completed in thirty years. It means it was begun in 1094 A.H. (1682-3 A.D.), when Bedil was living in Mathura.[5] In a letter to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān Bidil[6] writes that he was writing this poem, *'Irfān*, and his prose-work *Chahār*

دمی کز وصف رنگش پر فشان بود   نفس طاؤس فردوس بیان بود

[At the moment when the description of its colour began,
The breath became the peacock of the paradise of expression]

It may be seen that the invisible is being made a part of our visual imagery.

1. Read the following:

دوی حرف است و ما تمثال حرفیم   که درصد مطلب ناياب صرفیم
درین تمثال ها شخصی است موجود   که صد تمثال پیدا کرد و نه نمود
لباس جلوه بیرون از قیاس است   دو عالم شوخیٔ رنگ لباس است

[Dualism is only a mode of speech and we are the image of the speech, and
We have been employed in (expressing) a hundred unintelligible propositions.
In these images there is a Person,
Who produced numberless images but did not show Himself.
The modes of manifestation are unimaginable, and
Both the worlds are only a gay show of the colour of the mode.]

2. See Shiblī, *Shi'rulAjam*, I, II, III, IV.

3. I would direct my readers to go through my article about this Maṣnavī, which appeared in *Makhzan*, Lahore, for August 1930.

4. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942.

5. Page 85 supra.

6. *Ruq'āt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 69.

'Unṣur simultaneously, and at page[1] 6 of *Chahār 'Unṣur* Bedil writes that he was then fortyone years old, indicating thereby that this prose-work was also begun in 1094-5 A.H. (1682-4 A.D.). This fact is corroborative of what Bedil writes in his letter, mentioned above. Khushgū has also stated that the metre[2] of *'Irfān*, is the same which great Sanā'ī employed for his celebrated *Ḥadīqatul Ḥaqīqat*[3] i.e. فاعلاتن مفاعلن فعلان. This metre, according to Browne,[4] is halting and unattractive.

Not only that the metre of both the Maṣnavīs is the same but they resemble each other in other respects also. Both of them deal[5] primarily with mysticism, they have ten[6] chapters each, and every chapter in both of them has a distich for its rubric. These things go a long way to prove that Bedil, like Rumi[7] and other mystic poets, was largely influenced by Sanā'ī. About the time when Bedil was born in 1054 A.H. (1644 A.D.) the literary people in India must have rededicated their energies to the study of Sanā'ī owing to almost missionary

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1. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, *Chahār 'Unṣur*, p. 6.
2. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942. p. 375.
3. Stephenson, J., *The First Book of Ḥadīqatul Ḥaqīqat*, (tr.) preface, XXV; Faqīr Shamsud Dīn, *Ḥadaiqatul Balāghat*, p. 146.
4. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, II, p. 319.
5. About *'Irfān*, Rieu, *British Museum Catalogue of Persian Mss.* f. 707 a: "A poem treating of Sufi Doctrines"; Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 375:

سراسر گفتگوی تصوف و معارف دارد

It has throughout discussions about mysticism.

About *Ḥadīqa*: Stephenson, *The First Book of Ḥadīqatul Ḥaqīqat*, XXVIII; Shiblī, *Shi'rul 'Ajam*, I, p. 181.

6. *Ḥadīqa*, with commentary of 'Abdul Laṭīf, Index, p. 8. As regards 'Irfān, Dr. Rieu speaks in the British Museum Catalogue, at f. 707a, that it has such like headings, but he does not give any. In Kābul, however, I saw the following, written by hand, in the beginning of the different chapters of the Maṣnavī, in *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, which was in the library of one Ḥāfiẓ Nūr Muḥammad. The first, the seventh, and the eighth headings were however missing.

عرض آهنگ نوائی ثانی   شوخئی زمزمه دهقانی
جنس ثالث زدکان من و ما   که بهشتت بود اقبال و غنا
قسم رابع که درو هست عیان   علم و فضل است کمال انسان
طور خامس که زساز اعمال   حکمت است انجمن آرای خیال
حکم سادس که درین دار غرور   نیست جز سلطنت اقبال و ظهور
نقش تاسع که همه علم و فنون   آمد از کار گه عقل برون
جهد عاشر برجوع اشغال   ختم جمعیت و تحصیل کمال

7. Cf: the famous couplet of Rūmī:

عطار روح بود و سنائی دو چشم او   ما از پس سنائی و عطار آمدیم

zeal shown[1] by Khwāja 'Abdul Latīf in collating the different manuscripts of the *Hadīqa* and in commenting and annotating it in 1038 A.H. (1628-9 A.D.). Two[2] manuscripts of Khwāja Latīf's commentary, with text, exist in the Panjab University Library also, and one of them (of 1040/1630) is a very excellent copy. This fresh interest in Sanā'ī might have induced Bedil to write a Masnavī similar to *Hadīqa*. As regards the number of verses in *'Irfān*, Bedil himself says that it has 11,000 lines:

لیک هر گه در شمار آمد   بر زبان یازده هزار آمد

[But when counted
They were found to be eleven thousand.[3]]

and this is roundabout the number of lines in *Hadīqa* which is 11,500. On actual counting the number of couplets in *'Irfān* came up to be a few hundred more than those stated by Bedil. Thus here is another similarity between the two Masnavīs. As Bedil wrote his *'Irfān* in imitation of a most famous mystical Masnavī, and as he spent full thirty years of his life in composing it, he believed that *'Irfān* had a high literary value. Khushgū says[4]:

برآن مثنوی نازمی کرد ۔ چنانچه اکثر از زبان مبارکش شنیده ام که آنچه ما داریم نسخهٔ عرفان است

[He was proud of that Masnavī and many a time I heard him saying that the only worthwhile thing he had was the Masnavī *'Irfān*.]

Bedil himself has confirmed Khushgū in a Ghazal. He says:[5]

دریں عبرت سرا عرفان ماهم تازگی دارد
سراپا مغز دانش گشتن و چیزی نفهمیدن

[In this abode of negligence our *'Irfān* too has a freshness.
One becomes out and out the pith of wisdom without[6] understanding anything.]

This much about the historical background of the Masnavī and other necessary details. We should now make an objective chapterwise study of its contents.

1. Stephenson, *The First Book of Hadīqatul Haqīqat*, Preface. XIV-XXV. Khwāja 'Abdul Latīf came to Lahore in 1037 A.H. (1627-8 A.D.) during the reign of Shāh Jahān, and after procuring and collating different manuscripts of *Hadīqatul Haqīqat*, he wrote such a masterly commentary of the Masnavī, that not only he became popular amongst his contemporaries, but also even now his name is inalienably associated with the Masnavī in the West as well as in the East. It is certain that but for his patient collation, no authentic text of the Masnavī would have been available to the world.

2. No. 253 of 1040, 1630, and No. 253-b of 1132-3/1719-20.

3. Stephenson, *The First Book of Hadīqatul Haqīqat*, XXV.

4. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 375.

5. Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī, Ghazals, p. 294.

6. Reference has been made here to the unknowability of God in spite of our best efforts.

The Maṣnavī opens with assertions with regard to Man being the epitome of creation, and the entire discussion is based on this central ieda :

قلزم کائنات و هرچه دروست جوش بیتابی٭ حقیقت اوست

[The sea of the universe and whatever it has
Is the fermentation of his restless reality.]

and after pleading his point forcefully Bedil says :

کیست فهمد کرشمه٭ انسان

[Who can comprehend the miracle that Man is.]

His wonder grows when he beholds the insignificant body of Man :

مشت خاکی باین بسیطیها قطره آبی واین محیطیها

[A handful of dust having so much vastness ? and
A drop as big as the ocean itself ?]

Then Bedil praises the holy Prophet and speaks about him as Logos. Then he exhorts Man to realise and discover his self and incidentally speaks highly of India, its fertile plains, and pleasant climate. After this a most philosophical discussion ensues, in which Bedil talks of Life's struggle, for an unknown purpose, which began with eternity and will end in etermity, assuming always new forms and new shapes, and he begins this discussion with a statement of how thoughts (خیالات) are the material[1] of the Cosmos. After this there is again advice to Man and a discourse about Love and here the introduction ends.[2] The introduction has four interwoven stories.[3]

At this stage Bedil incorporates[4] his Maṣnavī *Mir'ātullah*, which I saw in Kābul in the form of a separate manuscript[5] also. This shows that it was an independent work, compiled before the

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1. Nicholson, R.A., *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, I can not do better than reproducing here what the learned author has said in the foot note : Mystics hold that God reveals Himself in five planes (ḥadara't) : (1) the plane of the Essence, (2) the plane of the Attributes, (3) the plane of the Actions, (4) the plane of similitudes and phantasy (Khayal), (5) the plane of sense and ocular vision. Each of these is a copy of the one above it, so that whatever appears in the sensible is the symbol of an unseen Reality." For a clearer wording of this idea, of Man being thought in essence, read Nicholson at page 84 of this book : "Man, in virtue of his essence, is the cosmic Thought assuming flesh and connecting Absolute Being with the world of Nature."

And also :

'Affifī : *Mukyid Din Ibuul Arabi*, 47-53.

'Affifī has told how the phenomenal world is believed to be the result of Thought or latent realities as he calls them.

2. Kulliyāt-e-Ṣafdarī, *'Irfān*, pp. 1-14.
3. Ibid., pp. 5, 7, 11, 13.
4. Ibid, p. 14-37.
5. In Ma'ārif Libsary, Kābul.

composition of *'Irfān*, and was incorporated because of identity of metre and subject. *Mir'ātullah* deals exclusively with the Arc of Descent and Ascent, and whatever Bedil had said, here and there on this subject, in the form of brief references, has been expressed here with a regard for detail. The Maṡnavī discusses how the Pure Being became gradually qualified and the Cosmos appeared. In the first descent (Ta'yyun-e-Awwal), Bedil says, the Absolute became conscious of itself as Pure Being, and His consciousness of Attributes was only general. This was the stage of Unity. Then there was the second descent and Unity became conscious of Itself as possessing the Attributes in detail. After this stage of Necessary Existence, the Being got related with intelligence on account of determination, and Universal Intelligence came into being. Then Bedil explains the nature of intelligence (عقل) spirit, (نفس) substance (هیولی) etc., which, he says, are all conceptual entities. Bedil further says, substance(هیولی)assumed forms (صور), and, by another determination, changed into bodies, and heavens flashed about. Bedil enumerates all the heavens, with their characteristics, and tells of which Attribute each is the mnnifestation. He states that the heavens[1] of the Saturn, the Jupiter, the Mars, the Sun, the Venus, the Mercury, and the Moon are, respectively, the manifestations of the Attributes رب (the Lord), علیم (the Knowing), قهار (the Supreme), نور (the Light), مصور (the Fashioner), محصی (the Omniscient), and مبین (the Manifest). Each of these attributes produces the effect inherent in it. Bedil holds that the entire creation is the manifestation of the Names and Attributes of God. As regards the four elemental spheres of fire, air, water, and earth, Bedil tells that these are the effects of the Names قابض (the Seizing), حی (the Everliving), محی (the Life-giver), and ممیت (the Destroyer), respectively.

Descent ended with earth, and then Ascent ensued, because everything tends to return to its origin. In this way three kingdoms of minerals, vegetables, and animals proceeded respectively from the Names عزیز (the Mighty), رزاق (the Sustainer), and مزل (the Subduing). Man, being the flower of creation, appeared last of all, and was the manifestation of the Name جامع (the Comprehensive). Bedil waxes eloquent when he reaches here :

شد معین کنون که شاهد راز　　بهر این جلوه بود در تگ و تاز
منزل سیر مهر و ماه این بود　　مرکز سیر نه سپهر این بود
چشم حسن این زمان بخود وا شد　　حیرت آئینهٔ تماشا شد

[Now it became definitely known that the Hidden Beauty
Had been making efforts for this manifestation.

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1. While speaking about the celestial universe, Bedil has mentioned the following also :

فلک ثامن ، آسمان تاسع ، چرخ اطلس ، عرش عظیم ، بروج ، آسمان منازل

This was the destination of the journey, through heavens, of the Sun and Moon, and
This was the pivot of the revolution of the nine heavens.
The eye of Beauty now opened on Itself, and
Bewilderment became the mirror of manifestation.]

At this stage, with an emphatic appeal to Man, the purport of which is :

گرچه واماندهٔ دل خاکی برتر از صد هزار افلاکی

[Although you have been thrown down on the earth,
You are superior to a hundred thousand heavens.]

the Masnavī *Mir'ātullah* ends.[1] Several philosophical doctrines and various problems of Natural science have also been discussed in the Masnavī, but I have ignored them, because an independent treatise is required to do them justice.

As soon as *Mir'ātullah* ends, the Masnavī *'Irfān* begins. Bedil says:

می شود ساز نسخهٔ عرفان قصهٔ از توجه انسان

[The composition of the poem, *'Irfān*, becomes
A story through the attention of Man.]

He tells that, as *Mir'ātullah* was an old composition, he was writing a poem which embodied fresh thoughts. The poem commences with the expression of a sense of bewilderment by Man because he was unable to understand the cause of beauty and of restlessness of spirit found universally in the world. Man, therefore, approached the sun for a solution of the dilemma, and was told that everything was due to Man himself. The sun then proceeded to illustrate it by a story, which ended with the end of the Masnavī. The story has been told in ten chapters. In the course of the poem several topics have been discussed, relative importance of many occupations has been emphasised, and numerous stories have been told. These features have made the Masnavī a comprehensive poem. As indicated in the beginning of this discussion, I would only give the bare outlines of the chapters.

The sun told Man about a gnostic who lived at the foot of a mountain. The gnostic had ten sons, and when he was dying, they requested him to advise them. They were told that the life had too little a span. Still, he added, one should try to attain perfection in keeping with one's capacities. With these words the gnostic breathed his last. After his death, his sons were absolutely idle for some time, and they were thus put into straitened circumstances. One day they sat together and decided that they should not sit idle any longer.

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1. Bedil's theory of scientific evolution includes genii and angels too. He holds that angels are superior to men. These points too have been discussed here,

The eldest brother remarked that as they had different capacities and dissimilar views about life, they should first of all decide what should be done, lest owing to the unsuitableness of the aim, they should fail in spite of their best efforts. The youngest said that he would act upon the decisions arrived at by his elder brothers, but he could not refrain from saying that the life of poverty and helplessness was most troublesome, and only the rich people led a respectable life and their wishes alone were fulfilled in the world. Bedil tells here the story of a rich man who bought a fair-faced slave-girl, brought in the market by a trader, while a poor man, who loved her passionately, was consumed by love. After this story the chapter ends.[1] Besides this, eight[2] other stories too have been told in this chapter. Bedil has most emphatically denounced here the effortless life, and has preached that our life should be characterised by constant struggle and ceaseless activity. Study the following verses:

حیف پائی که ماند از رفتار   وای دستی کزو نیاید کار

[Sorry for the feet which have ceased to walk, and
Woe unto the hands which do not work.]

کار صاحب نفس فسردن نیست   که فسردن بغیر مردن نیست

[A living person should not be spiritless,
Because only the dead are spiritless.]

همت آسودگی نمی جوید   شعله تا وقت مرگ می پوید

[High endeavour will never seek rest,
The flame runs up till its death.]

The second chapter[3] is about peasantry. Towards the end of the first chapter, we left the ten sons of the gnostic deliberating about the choice of an occupation. In that chapter the occupations[4] of the scholar, the painter, the tailor, the weaver, the blaksmith, and of the butcher were mentioned, and every occupation was considered to be honourable. In this chapter the peasants have been praised for they are the backbone of the society in every country, and it is due to them that everyone prospers in the world. Bedil tells a story how the minister of a king likened the peasant to the paradise, but, Bedil adds, this paradise is being reduced to hell owing to the greed of the kings. Most sadly Bedil remarks:

تا بجائی رسید سعئی غرور   کز مزارع نماند جز مزدور

[The doings of the proud people have resulted in
Reducing the tenant to the position of a labourer.]

At this stage the story of a cat has been told which lived in the

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1. Kulliyāt-e-Ṣafdarī, *'Irfān*, pp. 37-72.
2. Ibid., pp. 37, 43, 46, 47, 48, 52, 54, 56.
3. *'Irfān*, pp. 72-81.
4. Ibid. pp. 51-53.

wilderness to protect the rats from the vultures, and Bedil says that apparently just laws are framed to safeguard the interests of the peasantry, but in practice the poor folk are shorn of their fleece. Bedil is, therefore, of the opinion that it is a crime to be weak in the world :

نرمی آفت نصیبی* دگر است   خرمن پنبه نذر یک شرر است
نیست از دست ناتوان حالی   مور را چاره* زپا مالی

[Softness is another misfortune,
The heap of cotton is reduced to ashes by a single spark.
On account of being weak and humble
The ant needs must be trampled down.]

and further :

گرز سختی المم نمی بردند   سنگ را همچو آب می خوردند

[If its hardness were not to trouble them,
The people would have devoured stones like water.]

The third chapter[1] describes the blessings of trade and commerce. It is because of this occupation that one can undertake journeys to new cities and fresh lands and the wealth of the whole world is brought to one's own country. Moreover, the traders bring a wealth of information which could not be obtained otherwise. Bedil tells a long tale of learned men who reached the source of the Ganges and found out why its water was so sweet and pure, simply by adopting the profession of traders. It is a romantic tale, with thrilling incidents, described most impressively, and forms a good short story told in verse. The moral of the story is contained in this couplet :

همت مرد اگر کمند شود   آسمان تا کجا بلند شود

[If the highmindedness of Man were to serve as rope-ledder,
The sky could not be too high.]

As in this chapter Bedil talked about the learned men, *the fourth chapter*[2] has been devoted to learning, enumerating its advantages. Above all, Bedil says, immortality can only be attained by learning. Here the story of Alexander the Great has been told who wanted to enjoy eternal life, and was therefore in search of the Water of Life. Bedil concludes that Alexander could not get the water, but he was made immortal by Aristotle, who wrote a book about the exploits of the conqueror. In the beginning of this chapter, Bedil displayed his ingenousness by discussing the novel ideas suggested by the forms of the Persian letters.

The fifth chapter[3] deals with scientific philosophy (حکمت). We know Bedil starts with noumena and gradually comes to the phenomena. In this chapter Bedil says that God's first Illumination was

1. *'Irfān*, pp. 81-94.
2 Ibid., pp. 94-103.
3. Ibid, pp. 103-117.

through His Attribute حکیم (the Wise), and then through His wisdom[1] gradually created the heavens, the elements, and the three kingdoms. Interest develops when Bedil begins to talk about mineralogy.[2] He tells how the different precious stones and the metals appeared, and also he gives proofs to show that minerals too have intelligence and feelings of love. While speaking of vegetables, Bedil proves that in them intelligence is at a higher level and hence purposive activity begins, and also memory, senses of hearing and sight, and modesty are discernible to a certain extent. In this evolutionary process, according to Bedil, moisture miraculously gives birth to animal soul, and movement from one place to another commences. Cavity appears in the body and thus enteric system, lungs, liver, brain, and other organs and faculties are developed. At this stage we see only instinctive activity. Evolution culminates in Man, and here again[3] Bedil cannot contain himself :

آنچه از علم راز می گفتم　　چون به آنجا رسیدم آشفتم
بر زبان نام آدمم آمد　　در نظر هر دو عالمم آمد

[Whatever I spoke of my knowledge of secrets,
I got bewildered when I reached here.
The name of Man reached my tongue, and
Immediately both the worlds were before my eyes.]

Man is the most advanced stage of organic evolution and hence the qualities of the mineral, the vegetable, and the animal souls are in Man in their most perfect form. The soul of Man, Bedil says, appertains to the spiritual world, and its perpetual strivings upwards, to reach God, elevate it over everything else. Bedil devotes a few pages to transmigration of souls too, and relates two stories about it, one related to him by a Hindu friend belonging to Southern India, and the other a true story which developed before his own eyes in Bihār. He appears to be impressed by these stories, but still he remarks that had the theory of the transmigration of souls been true, other nations and religions in the world too would have believed in it.

The sixth chapter[4] is about the kings and their ways. Bedil says that the king who is just and who cherishes his subjects is indeed the shadow of God upon the earth. About the resolution of kings he says :

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1. Wisdom or Knowledge of God is one of His Attributes which forms the basis of the theory of creation. Cf. Muzaffarud Din, *Muslim Thought and Its Source*, p. 115. The sixth chapter of the book, dealing with Hikmat, may be studied for understanding Bedil properly.

2. Ibn-e-Sina wrote a treatise about Mineralogy which was for a long time studied in the West. Cf. Shushtery, A.M.A., *Outlines of Islamic Culture*, I, p. 184.

3. Read similar outbursts, p. 209 supra.

4. *'Irfān*, pp. 118-134.

دو جہاں گر بسیل خون برود   دامن عزم شاہ تر نشود

[If both the worlds were to be swept away by the torrent of blood,
A king's resolution would not falter.]

In support of this Bedil has related two very nice stories. The second story has the elements of romance, epic, tragedy, and comedy, all splendidly brought together in one place. The expression is as elegant and as impressive as could be expected of Bedil. The high ambitions and resolute will of kings remind Bedil of alchemists who, in view of the great advantages of gold, show equally great determination and spend the whole of their lives in this pursuit. The *seventh chapter*[1] of the Masnavī, therefore, has been devoted to alchemy, and Bedil tells the story of an alchemist whose endeavours bore fruit in his old age, and whose knowledge and experience proved useful to another man, after the alchemist had sacrificed himself for the attainment of his object. All along in the course of this chapter Bedil used only the terminology connected with alchemy.

The eighth chapter[2] is about enchantment, and Bedil says that this too is a true Art. Bedil expresses the opinion that the throne of the Queen of Sheba was brought to Solomon by the force of magic. Bedil relates here three stories to prove his assertions, and one of the stories is about his friend, one Ghani, a poor fellow from Balisar, who, under the influence of magic, found himself transplanted to Nilgiri Hills, where he led a lordly life, in a citadel, for full one year.

The ninth chapter[3] is about intellect and reason. Here Bedil urges people to cherish noble aims, and forbids them to pursue mean and low sciences like alchemy and magic. He attaches utmost importance to intellect and says that it mirrors the universe and is the body of the soul. He would not tolerate contented puny people, but would praise and welcome the noble-spirited persons, full of love for highly intellectual pursuits, and fond of bold endeavour. He says, a man of this type :

گہ زمیں گہ آسماں گردد   ہرچہ شوقش پسندد آں گردد

[Is at times the earth then the heaven ;
He becomes whatever he desires to be.]

In this chapter Bedil again relates stories. One is about a Brahman who was in search of the Effulgence of the Necessary Being and who learnt that not the sensible but the thoughts[4] are the Reality. The other story is about a Jew who did not believe in the Ascension

1. *'Irfān*, pp. 135-142.
2. Ibid., pp. 142-152.
3. Ibid., pp. 152-162.
4. About Thoughts being the basis of Reality, see p. 208 supra.

to skies of the holy Prophet of Islam, but, by a strange coincidence of supernatural character, he readily began to believe in it.

Bedil has been relating all this time the discourse made by the sun before Man, who wanted to understand the cause of beauty and restlessness in the Universe, and the sun had said that it was due to Man himself. In order to illustrate it, the sun had related the story of the ten sons of a gnostic who sat making deliberations, after the death of their father, about the choice of an occupation. Their discussions and consultations have brought us to this stage. The eldest brother, winding up whatever had been said on the point, remarked that the accomplishments, relating to their corporeal being, were of a limited character and they should, therefore, develop the capacities of their hearts and souls which would take them high up into the heavens. They, therefore, agreed to adopt Fāqr (Poverty of soul, i.e. mysticism) as their profession, and love became their guiding spirit. This was the path of self-annihilation, but it did not mean any congealing of life's blood. On the other hand it meant restlessness of soul, constant struggle, and consuming love for the noblest Ideals. The sun told Man that in this way, in a year, every vestige of their sensual desires and earthly ambitions was gone, and the ten brothers were transformed into spirits and are now known as the ten Intelligences.

This is the end of *the tenth chapter*[1] and then the *epilogue*[2] follows, in which Bedil speaks about the Transcendence of God in this way:

او نه باغ و نه گل نه رنگ و نه بوست هر قدر او کنی تصور اوست

[He is neither the garden, nor the rose, nor the odour.
Whatever is pointed to be 'He' is but His conception.]

قرب تحقیق او مجال تو نیست غیر او گفتن احتمال تو نیست

[It is impossible for you to come nearer to comprehending Him, and
[It is not possible for you to call Him except by the pronoun He.]

تا کجا حرف کبریا گوئیم سخت دوریم تا کجا گوئیم

[How long should I speak about the Almighty?
We are far away. How should we speak?]

This is a brief summary of the contents of *'Irfān*, and, although the verses have been rendered freely, I have tried to make a correct exposition of the poet's thoughts. The summary may be inadequate, but I think all the essential points have been carefully analysed. As regards the style, this Maṣnavi embodies all the virtues

1. *'Irfān*, pp. 162-65.
2. Ibid., p. 165.

of Bedil's other Maṣnavīs. It describes scenes, landscapes, and towns; it relates thrilling stories, delineates character, and discusses morality, philosophy, and mysticism. No doubt, the Maṣnavī *Mir'ātullah* is boring; but *'Irfān* itself, on account of its perfect and graphic expression, absorbing stories, lively character-sketches, and usefulness in everyday life, is full of interest. The stories of the rich man who bought slave-girls, and the scholars[2] who went to find out the source of the Ganges, and also the tragi-comic[3] story of Kamdi and Madan, have been told in an exquisite manner, and Bedil's Art is here at its best. Besides the literary interest of the poem and its thought-provoking discussions, its practical value, as I have hinted above, is by no means negligible. It lays premium on a life of struggle, and all through it a spirit of enterprise has been inculcated, so much so that Bedil's definitions of توکل and صبر make one feel that instead of encouraging lethargy and inertia, their very conception means only a life of activity and endeavour :

هر که تخمی ز صبر می کارد انتظار نتیجهٔ دارد
کار ناکرده مزد خواستنت دارد از انفعال کاستنت
ای بتدبیر جستجو عاری انفعال است مزد بیکاری
کاهلی را کنی توکل نام اینت گمراهئی تصور خام

[Whoever sows the seed of patience,
He is only waiting for the result (of his efforts).
To ask for remuneration without having put in work,
Is extremely shameful.
O thou who art devoid of endeavour,
It is shameful to get remuneration for idleness.
You call idleness to be trust in God,
Sorry, your vain thoughts have gone astray.]

In view of these peculiarities of *'Irfān*, we hold Bedil justified if he was proud[4] of it.

5. MASNAVĪ TANBĪHUL MUHAWWISIN.

It is a small Maṣnavī, of 210 couplets, about alchemy.[5] It rebukes the alchemists very strongly for their vain efforts, and directs them instead to transform and sublimate their thoughts and sentiments. All the terms used by alchemists have been mentioned by the poet in such a manner that they contribute to the exposition of Bedil's views about the realities of life. The Maṣnavī has two sections. In the first, general remarks have been made, and in the second a story

1, 2 and 3. *'Irfān*, pp. 66-72, 83-94, 121-134 respectively.
4. See p. 207 supra.
5. *Kulliyāt-e-Ṣafdarī*, *Qaṣāid*, pp. 64-67.

has been related about an alchemist who gave up his life in the pursuit of his accursed Art. Khushgū says[1] that Bedil did never believe in the efficaciousness of this Art.

6. THE DESCRIPTIVE MAṢNAVĪ.

Descriptions of the sword, the horse, and the elephant in verse, having the same metre, exist in the Kullīyāts[2] of Bedil. The aim of the poet has been to describe the appearance and the work of these things. Although their performances in the battlefield have also been mentioned, the poet's treatment of his subject is mostly fanciful, abounding in conceits. In view of all these similarities, I am of the opinion that these descriptions do not constitute different poems, but form different sections of the same poem. And as, like a Maṣnavī, all the verses rhyme differently, I conclude that the poem is a Maṣnavī. It has in all 536 couplets: 391 about the horse, 100 about the elephant, and 45 about the sword. As it is apparent from the number of verses, the horse has been described more elaborately. About a hundred couplets have been written about its general peculiarities, and then its head, neck, mane, fatness, shoulders, mouth, teeth, eyes, ears, tail, hair, and neighing have been dealt with one by one. The description is forceful, and shows the love of a Mughal of Central Asia for a horse. The largest number of verses, i.e. 49, have been written about the neighing of the horse, and the next place has been given to its mane for which 33 verses have been composed. The elaphant reminds us that we are moving in the Indian environment. Specimens are now given below:

The sword when it is red with blood :

بهرجا کنی خلعت خون ببر   زشاخ زمرد چکد لعل تر
لبت گر شود تر بخون عدو   نماید شفق‌دردم صبح او

[Whenever you put on the robe of blood,
Wet rubies trickle down the emerald branch.
If your lips become wet with the blood of the enemy,
It appears as if twilight has appeared at the time of morning.]

The horse running swiftly :

چو سرگرم جولان گری می شود   هوا شیشهٔ آں پری می شود
چو باوجه مستانه آید برون   قیامت زمیخانه آید برون

[When it is engaged in a swift race,
The air becomes a glass for this fairy.
When it comes out dancing ecstatically,
A resurrection comes out of the tavern.]

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1. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942.
2. *Kullīyāt-e-Bedil*, Ma'ārif Library, Kābul, Mss. No. 504-9, fs.51-66.

The elephant's firm stand and calm walk :

ستاده است هر جا زطبع درشت زمیں چار میخ است و گردوں دو پشت
قدم هر کجا در روانی فشرد بآواز پایش کسی پی نبرد

[Wherever it stands firmly,
The earth gets tortured and the sky is backed.
Wherever it places its foot in walking,
None can hear the sound.]

7. IṢHĀRĀT O ḤIKĀYĀT

As it is apparent from Appendix A, this is not an independent work, but consists of selected[1] verses from the four Maṣnavīs of Bedil: *Muḥīṭ-e-A'ẓam*, *Ṭilism-e-Ḥairat*, *Ṭūr-e-Ma'rifat*, and *'Irfān*, and also from *Chahār 'Unṣur*—the poet's autobiography in prose. As the selections are not from a single poem, they do not have the same metre throughout. The printed title of *Ishārāt-o-Ḥikāyāt* discloses that it is related to *Nikāt*[2]—another similar work of Bedil in prose, but as the selections are mostly from the poet's Maṣnavīs, it was befitting to talk about the work in this chapter. But no detailed discussion of the work is necessary, as all the works, from which the selections have been made, have been treated separately in these pages. In the Appendix, however, I have given the subject-matter against every selection.

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1. In the Appendix, at a few places, pages of the works, from which the verses have been taken, have not been given, simply because I could not find out the particular pages. The metre and subject-matter of the verses, however, disclose the work from which they have been selected. At two places I could neither determine the work nor the page.

2. See p. 360 infra.

CHAPTER VI

Qasaid, Quatrains, Mukhammasat, Tarkib Band, Tarji' Band, Fragments and Riddles of Bedil

I. QAṢĀID

LIKE[1] Ghazal and Maṣnavī, Qaṣīda also had reached the highest point of its development when Bedil was born in 1054 A.H. (1644 A.D.). Beginning with Raudakī,[2] numberless poets had written Qaṣāid, and even during the Mughal period, up to the birth of Bedil, several illustrious poets like 'Urfi (d. 999/1590-1), Faiẓī (d. 1004/1595-6), Naẓīri (d.1023/1614), Ṭālib Āmuli (d.1036/1626-7), and Qudsī (1056/1646) had very successfully tried their hands in panegyric-writing, and perfect specimens of the highest art were, therefore, available to Bedil in plenty. No doubt, Bedil was averse[3] to writing Qaṣīdas like the professional masters of the art, as he says most scornfully :

شعری که در دل آرزوی گدیه پرورد
بر معنیش بشاش و بر الفاظ اوبری

[As for the couplet, which nourishes in the heart a desire for begging,
Please urinate on its meaning and stool on its words.]

but, in view of the splendid potentialities[4] of Qaṣīdas, in being the most impressive vehicle for expressing strong emotions and sublime thoughts, Bedil could not neglect it altogether. Sincerity was the primary feeling of Bedil. He says, while expressing his attitude towards Qaṣīdas :

مداح فطرتم نه ظهیرم نه انوری

[I praise Nature. I am neither Ẓahīr nor Anwarī.]

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1. Shiblī, *Shi'rul 'Ajam*, V, pp. 18-20, pages 180-2 supra of this work.
2. Ibid., I, p.31.
3. Page 63 Supra.
4. Shiblī, *Shi'rul 'Ajam*, V, p. 19.

As such Bedil has praised, out of the fullness of his heart and without having any worldly end in view, only those persons whom he admired passionately. In doing so he wrote sometimes replicas[1] to the famous Qaṣīdas of the master-poets like Anwarī (d. 1189-91 A.D.), Khāqānī (d.1185 A.D.), Zahir Fāryābī (d. 1201 A.D.) Amir Khusrau of Dehlī (d. 1325 A.D.) and Muḥammad Jamālud Dīn 'Urfī (d. 1590-1 A.D.) and we see that, on account of spontaniety, loftiness, and vigour of both thought and expression, he has carved out a niche for himself among these great writers. His Qaṣāid may be small in number, but in quality they rank among the best specimes of the Art. This would become clear when we have studied his Qaṣāid one by one.

The First Qaṣīda.[2] The prototype of this Qaṣīda of Bedil is the famous Qaṣīda *Mantīquṭ Ṭūyur* of Khāqānī—a replica[3] to which had been written by Amīr Khusrau as well. Khāqānī wrote his Qaṣīda in praise of the holy Prophet. It has two parts (دو مطلع) and 67 couplets in all. In the first part there is a description of the Ka'ba, and in the second, the prologue (تشبیب) consists of a dialogue between different birds, which praise their own beloveds until their caliph, the phoenix, arrives, and from there a transition (گریز) is made to eulogise the holy Prophet. Bedil, too, has two parts, but the number of his verses is 168, and, in spite of the length of his Qaṣīda, its flow and force continue unabated to the end. In the first part there is a brief description of a garden in the spring season, and in the second we see a maid of charming beauty having a walk through the garden. The description of her beauty is matchless, and elegant words and beautiful phrases have been used most powerfully. For example :

جلوهٔ طرف عذار لمعهٔ چندین سحر　　حلقهٔ گیسوی ناز دام هزار آفتاب

[The splendour of her cheeks was like the light of many mornings, and

The curls of her proud hair were snares for a thousand suns.]

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1. Vide the discussion that follows.
2. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdārī Qasāid*, pp. 21-24.
3. *Kulliyāt-e-Khāqānī* p. 78 ; Amīr Khusrau, *Nihāyatul Kamāl*, p. 48, Ṣalāḥūd Din, *Afkār-e-Shā'ir*, p. 38 ; The opening lines of Khāqānī, Amīr Khusrau, and Bedil respectively are :

۱ - زد نفس سر بمهر صبح ملمع نقاب
۲ - صبح چو آفاق را جبهه نمود از نقاب
۳ - ذی که زیاد سحر طرهٔ شب خورد تاب

جلوہ‌ٔ تحیر گداز غمزہ قیامت طراز حسن ادا فتنہ ساز طرز نگہ شعلہ تاب

[Her splendour was marvellous, her coquetry was killing,
Her manners were bewitching, and the manner of her glances in flames.]

When the lovely maid wanted to leave the garden :

سبزہ بپائش فتاد گل بگرفتش رکاب

[Verdure fell on her feet and roses held her stirrups.]

At this stage the nightingale arrived and began to say how painful it was that the life of the flower was so short :

گل کہ بسالی نزد خیمہ بباغ وجود باز بدشت عدم از چہ نماید شتاب

[The rose did not pitch its tent in the garden of existence for a year,
Why then does it quickly rush back to the wilderness of non-existence ?]

The nightingale continued her sad tale for some time and asked, when death was so common, how one could be happy in life. The wise maid first told the profound universal truth :

آنچہ ندارد دوام نیست بغیر از تلف آنچہ نہ بندد ثبات نیست بجز انقلاب

[Nothing but destruction is eternal, and
Nothing but change is constant.]

and then added that the safest way in the circumstances was to keep in view always the charming beauty of the holy Prophet. From this place the Qaṣīda, as such, begins and the poet's feelings begin to mount. In the heat of emotion and at the height of inspiration, the hemistitches are automatically divided into halves, sometimes rhyming mutually and sometimes without rhyme :

در ہوس خدمتش نازش پست و بلند خاک زنطع جبین چرخ زوضع رقاب
ابر زہر قطرہ اش بسمل بوس قدم مہر زہر ذرہ اش کشتہ‌ٔ طوف رکاب

[High and low alike feel proud of a desire to serve him,
The dust by its table-cloth of forehead, and the sky by the laying down of its neck.
The cloud is eager to kiss his footprints with every one of its drops, and
The sun has an earnest desire to go round his stirrups with every one of his atoms.]

In this state of emotion the poet coins excellent titles for the holy Prophet :

خسرو وحدت کلاہ شاہ قدم بارگاہ بدر تنزہ ضیاء صدر تقدس جناب

[The king having Unity as his crown, and the monarch having Eternity as his court, and
The full moon having transcendence as his lustre, and the exalted and holy sovereign.]

While expressing his inability to praise the Prophet in a befitting manner, he uses a nice original simile :

یا نبی الابطحی من که و مدحت کجا   رشته نه بندد بچرخ ساز طنین ذباب

[O my dear the Meccan Prophet ! who am I to praise thee ?
The buzzing of a fly has no relation with the heaven.]

It is a very eloquent Qaṣīda. Its diction shows Bedil's perfect mastery over language. Everything has been described very impressively. The metaphors and similes are fresh and appropriate, new and powerful phrases have been coined quite spontaneously, and novel conceits and the figure poetical aetiology develop quite naturally. Ṣalāḥud Dīn, an Afg͟hān writer, declares that this Qaṣīda is, in every respect, superior[1] to its prototype by K͟hāqānī.

The Second Qaṣīda.[2] It is an imitation of 'Urfīs'[3] Qaṣīda and has been written in praise of the holy Prophet. From the very beginning a passionate address has been made to him without observing the usual formality of having a prologue. The word گل is repeated as a refrain after the rhyming letters, and hence the whole imagery has been limited to the narrow confines of a garden. In spite of this, in the 75 couplets of the Qaṣīda, its force nowhere diminishes. On the other hand, with every new verse its vigour increases and an addition is made to the colourfulness of the Qaṣīda. The following couplet, expressing the poet's love for the holy Prophet, is remarkable :

یاد وصلش نورجاں چوں رونق آینه آب
داغ عشقش زیب دل چوں زینت دستار گل

[The memory of union with him is the light of life, as the splendour of the mirror is its lustre
The brand of his love decorates the heart as the flower is an ornament for the turban.]

The Third Qaṣīda[4]. Here Bedil has replied[5] to Zahīr Fāryābī who praised Malik Nuṣratud Dīn[6] in a Qaṣīda congratulating him on

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1. Ṣalāḥud Dīn, *Afkar-e-S͟hā'ir*, p. 38.
2. *Kulliyāt-e-Ṣafdarī*, *Qaṣāid*, p. 24-5.
3. 'Urfī, *Dīwān*, pp 80–83. 'Urfī wrote his Qaṣīda in praise of Emperor Akbar. His first verse being :

نو بہار آمد که افشاند بحسن یار گل   چوں وصال یار ریزد هرخس و هر خار گل

4. *Kulliyāt-e-Ṣafdarī Qaṣāid*, pp. 25-29.
5. *Qaṣāid-e-Zahīr Faryābī*, p. 17. The opening verse of Zahīr is :

سپیده دم چو زند ابر خیمه در گلزار   گل از سراچه خلوت رود تعبیه یار

'Urfī too has a Qaṣīdā, having this rhyme and metre, in praise of Ḥaẓrat 'Alī. In his Qaṣīda 'Urfī, has sworn beautifully showing his love for Ḥaẓrat 'Alī, but it appears Bedil had not 'Urfī in view while writing his Qaṣīda : For 'Urfī's Qaṣīda see ; 'Urfī, *Qaṣāid*, 15–24.

6. Atābek Nuṣratud Dīn Abū Bakr of Āzarbā-e-Jān. See Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, II, p. 416.

ascending the throne of his uncle Qizil Arslān. The Qaṣīda of the renowned panegyric writer is very famous, and Shibli Nu'mānī has quoted[1] the following verse from it in his Shi'rul 'Ajam :

چمن هنوز لب از شیر ابر ناشسته　　چوشاهدان خط سبزش دمیده گرد عذار

[The garden had not yet washed the milk of clouds from its lips, but
Like the fair ones, its downs grew round its cheeks.]

The Qaṣīda of Zahīr has one مطلع only, but that of Bedil has سه مطلع (three parts), and has 288 couplets of exquisite literary value. Zahīr is known[2] for his original conceits, elegant and impressive combinations of words, and subtle and charming similes. In these pages, Bedil too has been praised again and again for these peculiarities, and, when we know that, in this replica to Zahīr Fāryābī, Bedil has eulogised the holy Prophet of Islam, whom he loved more than anything else in the world, we can easily imagine with what warmth of feeling and with what force of diction he would have composed the Qaṣīda. I quote only the following verses and leave the judgment with my readers :

بغیر درس تو علم جهانیان باطل
بغیر حکم تو اعمال انس و جان بیکار
تو هر طرف که هدایت کنی همان قبله
بسوی' هرچه اشارت کنی همان دیدار
عطا همان که پسندد توجه کرمت
خطا همان که تو اش رد کنی زهی مختار
اگر یهود و نصاریٰ خدا پرستانند
بداغ کفر اسیرند چوں توی' بیزار
سری که گرم هوای تونیست شمع صفت
زشعله' رگ گردن بسوزدش دستار

[Without your teachings the knowledge of the inhabitants of the world is null and void.
Without your command the doings of Man and the Genii are useless.
Whichever way you direct thither is the Qibla, and
To whatever thing you point that is the vision.
Whatever your kind attention likes is a gift, and
Whatever you disapprove is the sin—yours being the authority.
Although the Jews and Christians worship God,
But since you are disgusted, the brand of infidelity is their fate.

1. Shibli, *Shi'rul 'Ajam*, V, p. 5.
2. Ibid, pp. 4-5.

The head which is not warmed by the feeling of love for you like the candle,
By the flame of the jugular vein, will have its turban consumed.]

The Fourth Qaṣīda[1]. It is an original Qaṣīda in praise of Abul Hasan Asadullāhul Ghālib 'Alī Ibn-e-Abī Ṭālib—the illustrious son-in-law of the holy Prophet. The prologue consists of a statement of the wickedness of the heaven, wherein the crescent has beed likened to the claws of a wolf. Bedil says that only that person who takes refuge with the revered 'Alī is safe from the viles of the sky. Having made transition to eulogy in this way, the poet praises 'Alī very forcefully for his strength, bravery, love of justice, magnanimity, sincerity, vast and deep learning, and his knowledge of the Occult. The poet's fidelity to the holy personage can be gathered from this verse :

عمرها شد چون نفس در یاد او پر می زنم   سالها بگذشت نبضم در خیالش می طپد

[It is ages since like breath I have been flapping my wings in his memory, and
For many years my pulse has been beating with passion of devotion over thoughts of him.]

The Fifth Qaṣīda.[2] This Qaṣīda has a very difficult rhyme and is a replica[3] to a Qaṣīda by 'Urfī. Both the Qaṣīdas have two parts but, while 'Urfī's has only 74 verses, Bedil's has got 178. Both the poets have mentioned heavenly bodies in their Qaṣīdas, but Bedil's Qaṣīda is decidedly more forceful. Bedil in his Qaṣīda has sung praises of Ḥaẓrat 'Alī.

The Sixth Qaṣīda.[4] This Qaṣīda is a replica to the famous Shinīyya[5] of Khāqānī, replicas[6] to which had already been written by Amīr Khusrau, Jāmī, 'Urfī and others. The Qaṣīda of Khāqānī has one Maṭla' and 78 verses, while that of Bedil has 'Sih Maṭla,' (three parts) and 149 verses. The Shinīyya Qaṣidas of Khāqānī

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1. *Kullīyāt-e-Ṣafdarī, Qaṣāid*, pp. 29-30.
2. Ibid., pp. 30-32.
3. 'Urfi, *Qaṣāid*, pp. 51-55. The opening verses of 'Urfī and Bedil respectively are :

۱ - چهره پرداز جهان رخت کشد چون بحمل
شب شود نیمرخ و روز شود مستقبل
۲ - معزل الحوت شما منتسب نصب حمل
یافت طبع سکی را بسمندر مبدل

4. *Kullīyāt-e-Ṣafdarī, Qaṣāid*, pp. 32-4
5. Shīnīyya is a poem which rhymes in shīn.
6. *Kulliyāt-e-Khāqānī*, I, p. 2 ; 'Urfi, *Diwān* 61 ; Amīr Khusrau, *Diwān*, Panjab University Library Mss. No. 2037, f. 18a ; Ṣalāhud Dīn, *Afkār-e-Shā'ir*, p. 37 Wahid Mirzaī *Life and Works of Amīr Khusrau*, p.161.

Amīr Khusrau, and Jāmī are didactic in nature, but that of Bedil is in praise of Hazrat 'Alī. Khāqānī, in his Qaṣīda, had made references to numerous doctrines[1] of various sciences, and Bedil too has made allusions to many topics of History, different verses of the holy Qur'ān and the Sayings of the holy Prophet, and to diverse problems of mysticism, metaphysics, and philosophy. In point of expression also Bedil's Qaṣīda is not inferior in any respect. It seems, how ever, to gain in elegance. For example these verses of praise:

ترحم آفریں ذاتش شفاعت پرور اخلاقش
کرم تصویر الطافش نجات ایجاد احسانش

[His nature is compassionate, his disposition is intercessory,
His favours are munificent, and his benevolence ensures salvation.]

حیا منسوب آدابش وفا پیمان انسابش
بہشت اطوار اصحابش جحیم آثار اعدائش

[His manner springs from modesty, his lineage is known for good faith,
His companions have amiable manners, and his enemies are repulsive as hell.]

The Seventh Qaṣīda.[2] *Sawād-e-A'ẓam*, the title of the Qaṣīda, which occurs at its end, is a chronogram, and yields the date 1082 A.H. (1671-2 A.D.). It means Bedil was only twenty eight years old when he wrote this Qaṣīda. Its prototype is the famous Qaṣīda, *Darya-e-Abrar*, of Amīr Khusrau. Bedil was not the first poet to use it as model,[3] but before him Jāmī (d. 898/1492) and Mīr 'Alī Sher Nawāī (d. 906/1501) also had used it as a pattern while writing their Qaṣīdas *Lujjatul Asrār* and *Baḥrul Afkār* respectively. All the Qaṣīdas are didactic and Bedil also was true to the tradition. Amīr Khusrau, in every one of the verses of his *Daryā-e-Abrār*, had made an assertion[4] in the first hemistich, which was aptly illustrated in the second. Now this figure, i.e. aptness of illustration,

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1. Shiblī Nu'mānī, *Sh'rul 'Ajam*, V, p. 7.
2. *Kullīyāt-e-Ṣafdarī*, *Qaṣāid*, pp. 34-6.
3. Amīr Khusrau, *Dīwān*, Panjab University Library Ms. No. 2037, f. 36a; Alī Shīr Nawāī, *Majalisun Nafāis*, p. 358; Wahid Mirza, *Life and Works of Amīr Khusrau*, 161, *foot note* No. 2. The opening lines of Amīr Khusrau, Jāmī, 'Alī Shīr Nawāī, and Bedil are, respectively:

۱- کوس شه خالی و بانگ غلغلش درد سر است
۲- کنگر ایوان شه کز کاخ کیوان برتر است
۳- آتشیں لعلی که تاج خسرواں را زیور است
۴- در حریم خاک مارا سوئی پیری رهبر است

4. Shiblī, *Shi'rul 'Ajam*, II, p. 133.

had been popularised,[1] during the times of Bedil, by Kalim (d.1061/1951) and Ṣāib (d. 1080/1669), and Bedil too had developed a great affinity[2] for it. In these circumstances it was but natural for Bedil to compete with Amīr Khusrau, where some other illustrious masters of the Art had also tried their luck. The Qaṣīda of Bedil has 158 verses in three parts (سه مطلع), and he has also displayed his mastery in the use of the figure "aptness of illustration." The following verses are cited as example:

سعئی عاشق را بجهد مردم دنیا مسنج
وجد طفلان دیگر است و رقص بسمل دیگر است

[Don't weigh the endeavour of a lover with the struggle of a worldly person.
The mock-dance of the children is different from the ecstatic swings of the lovers.]

بر دل آزاد از عزلت مبند افسردگی
هر کجا آب روان یخ بست سنگ مرمر است

[The freedom-loving heart should not be made to congeal by seclusion.
Wherever the running water changes into ice, it becomes marble.]

دل چو روشن گشت جاه و شوکتی درکار نیست
بهر تسخیر جهان خورشید تنها لشکر است

[When the heart has been illumined, pomp and glory are needless.
For conquering the world, the Sun alone is an Army.]

Shiblī Nu'māni has quoted[3] the following verse of Amīr Khusrau from his *Daryā-e-Abrār*, as the best specimen of his Art:

مرد پنهان در گلیمی پادشاه عالم است   تیغ خفته در نیامی پاسبان کشور است

[The hero hiding in the blanket is the ruler of the world, just as.
The sword asleep in a scabbard is the guardian of the realm.]

When it is compared with the last verse of Bedil, quoted here by me, it loses much of its significance. It was because of this success in writing the Qaṣīda that Bedil said to himself:

ترجمان اسرار بی چونیست ورنه نزد عقل
نکته پردازی زطبعت این قدر کی باور است

[Interpreter are the secrets of the Absolute, otherwise as far as reason goes,
Production of so many conceits by your mind is incredible.]

1. Shiblī *Shi'rul 'Ajam*, III, pp. 165, 179.
2. Pages 47-9 supra.
3. Shiblī, *Shi'rul 'Ajam*, V, 25,

The Eighth Qaṣīda.[1] This Qaṣīda has 54 couplets in all and its theme is "Love and its supreme value in life." It is a reply to a panegyric by Anwarī.[2] After a digression to didactic topics it reverts to its main theme towards the end. There is nothing new in the whole of the Qaṣīda except for the similes and metaphors with which the poet illustrates his propositions. For example he speaks about humility — a time-worn topic but made attractive owing to the brilliant simile :

چون مه نو هر که آئین تواضع برد پیش
طلعت خود را چراغ هفت کشور یافته

[Like the new moon, one, who acts upon the principle of humility.
Will find his countenance illuminating the seven realms.]

But there is one verse which reveals the working of Bedil's mind. When he has said that ability is not attained easily, he remarks that, for a proper recognition of one's merits, the pomp and grandeur of Ibn-e-Sīna, who was attached in his life to different kings as a minister, is required :

لاف دانش جز به سعئی جاه نتوان پیش برد
بوعلی هم شهرت علم از کر و فر یافته

[One cannot boast of learning unless his efforts seat him in a place of dignity.
Bū 'Alī was also known widely for his learning on account of his elevated rank.]

The Ninth Qaṣīda.[3] The whole philosophy of Bedil revolves round his deep-rooted faith about the dignity of Man. His Metaphysics, we have seen,[4] have added unexampled weight to this faith, and whenever, therefore, he speaks about Man he waxes eloquent. This original[5] Qaṣīda, of 93 couplets, has been dedicated by Bedil to his most favourite theme, i.e. Man, and its very opening verse declares with what force he is going to address :

ای شمع بزم قدس ندانم چه مظهری کزوهم گه روشن و گاهی مکدری

[O the candle of the banquet of sanctity ! I don't know what you do.
By your phantasy, you are at times bright and then gloomy.]

The metre and rhyme of the Qaṣāid are very much suited for such a

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdari, Qaṣāid*, p. 36-7.
2. *Diwān-e-Anwari*, 365. Anwarī's Qaṣīda begins with the following line :

ای نهال مکرمت از عدل تو بر یافته

3. *Kulliyāt-e-Ṣafdarī*, Qaṣāid, pp. 37-8.
4. Page 247 supra.
5. Anwarī too has four verses having this metre and rhyme. See *Diwān-e-Anwari*, p. 749.

forceful address, and it is due to this that here we come across some of the most emphatic utterances of Bedil. He tells Man :

در ملک بی تعینی افزون تری زچرخ اما بعالم هوس از ذره کمتری

[In the realm of Pure Being, you are superior to the Heavens
But in the land of greed you are inferior even to a particle of dust.]

در لفظ تست معنئی کونین مندرج بهرچه بر حقیقت خود پی نمی بری

[In your word the meaning of both the worlds has been compressed.
Why don't you try to understand your reality ?]

غافل زخود مباش که چون شمع آفتاب اقبال هفت محفل ونه قصرا خضری

[Don't be forgetful of yourself, because like the Sun
You are the glory of the seven assemblies, and the nine blue palaces.]

از هر شئی که عقل تو فهمید افضلی وزهر مکان که فهم تو پی برد برتری

[You are better than all those things which your intellect can realise,
And you are loftier than all those places where your understanding can reach.]

هر سو نگاه می رود آنجا تو رفته ای هرجا خیال می پرد آنجا تو می پری

[In whatever direction the sight goes, you have reached there, and
Wherever the wings of imagination fly, you fly there.]

These verses speak for themselves. Freshness of metaphors may, however, be enjoyed in the following verse :

بر نقش دل مبند که طاؤس جنتی از لای سر بر آر که ماهیٔ کوثری

[Do not have a fancy for the image as you are the peacock of the garden of Eden,
Take your head out of the dregs, as you are the fish of the river Kauṣar of Paradise.]

It is in this Qaṣīda that Bedil says he would not offer his talents for sale in the market, where every Tom, Dick, and Harry is the customer, but he would only pour out his heart at his sweet will.

The Tenth Qaṣīda.[1] It is again a replica[2] to Anwarī. It has a most difficult rhyme, and success in this Qaṣīda shows Bedil's mastery

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī Qasaid'* pp. 37-8.
2. *Dīwan-e-Anwarī*, p. 242. The first verse of Anwari goes :

ای سپاهت را ظفر لشکر کش و دولت یزک
نه یقین بر طول و عرض لشکرت واقف نه شک

And the opening verse of Bedil is ;

وقت آنست که از گردش گردون فلک
نقش مهر از ورق روئی زمین گردد حک

Only rhyme is similar here.

over language. Anwarī's Qaṣīda has only 23 couplets while Bedil's has 61. Bedil's theme is the criticism of the ways of the people.

The Eleventh Qāsīda.[1] This Qaṣīda has been named *Muḥīṭ-e-Bīkarān* and is rich in conceits and visual imagery. It deals only with didactic subjects. It has been written as a replica[2] to a Qaṣīda by Khāqānī, in which the great master speaks about personal matters. The opening verse of Khāqānī is very brilliant, but in other respects both the Qaṣīdas are very meritorious. Both the poets employ the figure "aptness of illustration," though Bedil uses it more often. Moreover, in both the Qaṣīdas there are conceits, Bedil albeit grows more fanciful. The following verse of the master poets may be compared :

Khāqānī :

دل منه بر عشوه هائی آسمان زیرا که هست
بی سر و بن کار هائی آسمان چون آسمان

[Don't be fond of the amorous playfulness of the sky, because
The ways of the sky are groundless like itself.]

Bedil :

ضعف رنگی هست وضع طالع طبع بلند
نیست غیر از کهکشان نقش جبین آسمان

[A paleness of colour is natural to the fortune of a high-minded person, as
The painting on the forehead of the sky is nothing but the milky-way.]

In the following verse Bedil speaks about betel-leaf—a thing connected exclusively with India—and this local colouring lends originality to his Qaṣīda :

برگ عیش سینه چاکان بی تلاش آماده است
زخمها از خون خود دارند بر لب رنگ پان

[For us, who have a torn breast, the leaf of enjoyment is available without any effort, just as
The wounds have the dye of the betel-leaf on their lips out of their own blood.]

The Twelfth and the Thirteenth Qaṣīdas.[2] Both the Qaṣīdas, having in all 68 verses, are in praise of Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam in whose service[3] Bedil remained for some time. Although the Qaṣīdas have a different rhyme, they are in the same metre, and the second Qaṣīda, therefore, appears to be a continuation of the first. From the second it

1. *Kullīyāt-e-Khāqānī*, p. 473. The opening lines of Khaqanī and Bedil are respectively :

۱- الامان ای دل که وحشت زحمت آرد الامان
۲- جز تهی دستی ندارد نی سرو برگ فغان

2. *Kullīyāt-e-Ṣafdarī, Qasāid*, pp. 40-1.

3. Rage 68 supra.

appears that Bedil expected that the Prince should patronise him. The following verses in the Qaṣīda show that the Prince had promised the poet an award of a title but he said he was already the Khān-e-Khānān (خان خانان) of the domain of literature :

بی تکلف خان خانان جہان معنیم
تا به تشریف خطابم کرده اند امیدوار
محو بودم کزچه خدمت قابل این منصبم
شد یقینم کاینقدرها بیدلی کردست کار

[To speak unceremoniously, I am the Khān-e-Khānān of the world of conceits,

As they had made me a candidate for the title.

I was thinking deeply : as a reward for what service I deserve this Manṣab ?

I was sure that my heartlessness had wrought this miracle.]

But it appears that, as the poet resigned service dramatically,[1] he was not awarded the title.

The Fourteenth Qaṣīda[2] is about a worn-out tent in which Bedil had to live at one time. The *Fifteenth*[3] was perhaps written when Nāwāb Khukrullāh Khān arrived in Dehlī. In the *Sixteenth*[4] the poet congratulates the Prince on the birth of a son in 1107[5] A.H. (1695-6 A.D.). *The Seventeenth Qaṣīda*[6] expresess Bedil's joy on the arrival of Nawāb Shukrullāh Khān, and is a model of sincerity. *The Eighteenth Qaṣīda*[7] is very forceful and is the second replica to the Shīniyya of Khāqānī. It is in praise of Niẓāmul Mulk and was written after he had been made Khān Daurān by the Emperor Shāh 'Ālam. The chronogram[8] for the date of the award of the title is : خان دوران بہادر, which comes to 1124 A.H. (1712 A.D.). *The Nineteenth*[9] and the last Qaṣida shows utmost joy of Bedil which he felt on learning the news of the arrival of Shākir Khān son of Nawāb Shukrullāh Khān.

QUATRAINS

Ṣalāḥud Dīn, in his *Afkār-e-Shā'ir* gives fourth[10] place, in point of merit, to the *Quatrains* of Bedil, and places his *Ghazals*, *Maṣnavīs*, and *Qaṣāid*, respectively, before them. Bedil's contemporary and

1. Page 68 supra.
2. *Kullīyāt-e-Safdarī*, *Qaṣāid* p. 41.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 42.
5. Bedil gives the folloiwng chronogram :
صبح مراد ملت و دین قبلهٔ مراد
6. *Kullīyāt-e-Ṣafdarī*, *Qaṣāid*, p. 42.
7. Ibid., p. 42.
8. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 174.
9. *Kullīyāt-e-Safdarī*, *Qasaid*, p. 43.
10. Ṣalāḥud Dīn, *Afkār-e-Shā'ir*, p. 60.

friend, Shaikh Sa'dullah Gulshen, once said[1] that it was Bedil's privilege alone to write Quatrains. It means Bedil's Quatrains may not rank high, as compared with the other three classes of his verse mentioned above, but in themselves their artistic value cannot be underrated. Apart from their quality their number also is considerable. Ivanow talks[2] of a huge collection of the quatrains of Bedil, but does not give their number. Dr. Ethe, however, says[3] that the manuscript of Bedil's quatrains, transcribed seven years before the poet's death and existing in the India Office Library has 3,500 epigrams in strictly alphabetical order. The learned author believes that it is the most complete collection extant. In *Kullīyāt-e-Safdarī*, however, the number of quatrains, according to my counting, is 3619.[4] This shows that, like Faridud Dīn 'Attār who wrote plenty[5] of Quatrains, Bedil too left a large number of them. In view of the number and high literary value of Bedil's quatrains, a volume is required to do anything like justice to them, still a few observations are made here.

We know Bedil's first attempt[6] at versification appeared spontaneously in the form of a Rubā'ī, in which he spoke in his childhood about the sweet odour breathed by a schoolmate. This shows Bedil's inherent aptitude for this class of verse. This aptitude was further strengthened by his association, from a very early age, with mystics who traditionally cherished Rubā'īs. Prominent mystics like[7] Shaikh Abul Ḥasan Kharqānī (d. 425/1034-5), Shaikh Abū Sa'īd Abul Khair (d. 440/1049), 'Abdullah Anṣārī (d. 481/1088-9) and Farīdud Dīn 'Aṭṭār (d. 667/1268-9), had distinguished themselves by writing Rubā'īs about their experiences and other problems of mysticism. The Rubā'ī has an inherent capacity for expressing a vast idea in the fewest possible words. It was, therefore, particularly[8] liked by the mystics, who, being preoccupied with their code of self-mortification, meditation, and recollection, could find very little time to express themselves in other forms of verse. A lofty and great idea they could easily express in a Rubā'ī, in a few minutes, and then could

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1. Khushgū in *Ma'arif* May 1942, p. 376 He says :
بقول شاہ گلشن رباعی گوئی حق اوست
2. Ivanow, *Catalogue of Persian Mss. Asiatic Society of Bengal*, under No. 843.
3. Ethe, *India Office Library Catalogue of Persian Mss.* Under No. 1681.
4. 122 towards the end of the Qiṭāt, and 3497, in the separate collection of *Ruba'īyāt* in the Kullīyāt.
5. Sulaimān Nadvi, *Khayyām*, p. 248.
6. Page 14 supra
7. Sulaimān Nadvi, *Khayyām*, pp. 231-48.
8. Ibid., 220 248-56.

betake themselves to their exercises of ascetic and ethical discipline. Also the soft and delicate metre of the Rubā'ī was suited to their calm and serene temperament. In addition to the mystics, Philosophers[1] like Ibn Sīna (d. 428/1036-7) and 'Omar Khayyām (d. 515-30/1121-36), too, wrote Rubā'īs for stating their deeper thoughts. It was, therefore, but natural that Bedil, as a philosopher-mystic, should pay greater attention to Rubā'i-writing. Consequently we find Bedil's views about Divinity, Creation, Man and other allied topics fully expressed in his Rubā'īs, and had I not earlier stated his views about these subjects, while discussing his Ghazals and Maṣnavis, I would have undertaken a detailed discussion of them at this place. I shall, however, make brief references in support of the assertions made here.

We are acquainted[2] with Bedil's views about the descent of the Absolute, but nowhere has he expressed himself more tersely than in this[3] Rubā'ī:

بیدل از بسکه جلوه مشتاق شدم
بی پرده ز آئینهٔ اطلاق شدم
پوشیدن‌خویشم این زمان ممکن نیست
عریان شدم آنقدر که آفاق شدم

[In asmuch as, O Bedil, I wanted to display myself,
I cast off the veil from the mirror of the Absolute.
It is not possible to cover myself again,
I have become so naked that I am the Universe.]

It was a mighty thought but Bedil has succeeded in expressing it in the four short lines of the Rubā'ī. The conception of the Pure Being, the desire of the Absolute Beauty to express Itself, the consequential appearance of the Universe, and the predominant position of Man in the Cosmos, all the great ideas have been expressed here with a strong note of pantheism. Again, Bedil says that God is the Real Being, and that plurality only shows Unity. This idea has been stated, in the following[4] Rubā'ī, very brilliantly using charming imagery:

آن ذات خفی که نیست غیرش مشهود
در هر جزوی برنگ گل جلوه نمود
زان گونه که صد میوه دهد یک دانه
وان دانه بجز میوه به بینی موجود

1. Weir, T.W., *Omar Khayyām the Poet*, pp. 21-31, 77-80; Sulaimān Nadvī, *Khayyām*, p. 238.

2. Page 247 supra.

3. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī, Rub'iyāt*, p. 78.

4. Ibid., p. 78.

[That hidden Essence, except whom none is manifest,
Displayed Itself in every part like the colour in the rose,
Just as one seed gives a hundred fruit,
And in every fruit that seed is present.]

This thought has been continued in the following[1] Rubā'ī with the qualification that not-Being only goes to establish the Real Being:

از نفئی خود اثبات تو خرمن کردیم   در رنگ شکسته سیر گلشن کردیم
خاکستر ما چو صبح اگر رفت بباد   آئینهٔ آفتاب روشن کردیم

[By negating ourselves, we garnered your confirmation.
We had a walk through the garden by losing our colour.
If our ashes, like the morning, were cast to the winds,
We only made mirror of the Sun brighter.]

But the transcendence of God also is a favourite subject of Bedil. In the following Rubā'ī[2] the poet says that it is impossible to praise God:

خلق و حمد خدا محال است اینجا
دعوی بگذار انفعال است اینجا
هر گز به لب زره نه گنجد خورشید
بیدل تو کجائی چه خیال است اینجا

[It is impossible for the created beings to praise God,
Give up all pretensions. Here only shame is in store.
The Sun cannot be accommodated within the lips of an
atom.
Bedil, thou art nought. What art thou about?]

After Monism Bedil's next preoccupation is Man. We have seen how enthusiastic[3] he grows and how exalted he feels when he begins to talk about Man. In his Rubā'īs too this predilection continues. But an original thinker as Bedil is, everytime there is some development of the idea. In a quatrain[4] Bedil tells how after incessant and miraculous efforts, on the part of Nature, Man appears in the world:

صد قطره و موج محو طوفان گردد   کز دریا گوهری نمایان گردد
فطرت عمری کند تگ و تاز هوس   تا نقش ادب بندد و انسان گرد

[Numberless drops and waves create a storm,
So that a gem may be produced from the Ocean,
Nature ceaselessly makes frantic efforts for ages, and
Then a miracle takes place and Man is the result.]

Not only the entire Universe is busy in producing Man, but God Himself is in search of him:

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī, Rub'iyāt*, p. 78.
2. Ibid.
3. Pages 233, 236 supra.
4. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī, Rubā'iyat*, p. 34.

اسرار قدم رفت در صید فاش و نهان — تا یافت بجیب آدم از خویش نشان
عارف کاینجا نقاب تحقیق کشود — طالب الله دید و مطلوب انسان

[The eternal secrets passed through a hundred manifest and hidden things, and
Then found their vestige in Man's pocket.
The Gnostic, who opened here the veil of Truth,
Saw God as lover and Man as beloved.][1]

God's desire to see Himself is fulfilled in Man and thus His search for him. When a perfect man enjoys this enviable privilege, Bedil expostulates that our respect even for his tomb should be profound :

هر سایهٔ خاری که درین هامون بود
لیلی کدهٔ تصور مجنون بود
تعظیم مزار اهل دل سهل مگیر
این خاک دو روز پیش ازین گردون بود

[Every shadow of a thorn in this wilderness,
Was a lovely corner for the thought of the beloved.
It is not easy to respect properly the tombs of the lovers.
This dust a couple of days before was (elevated like) sky.][2]

But our knowledge of these mystical and metaphysical doctrines would be incomplete if Bedil the realist also does not express himself. In the following[3] quatrain he teaches us the doctrine of the survival of the fittest :

بیدل بر خلق کسر شان نه نمائی — تا تیر توان شدن کمان نه نمائی
خاصیت این معرکه عاجز کشی است — اینجا زنهار ناتوان نه نمائی

[Bedil, no detraction of your dignity before the people.
So long as you can be an arrow, don't be a bow.
It is in the essential nature of this struggle to kill the humble.
Beware, lest here you look weak.]

The Rubā'i reminds us of the following impressive verse of Bedil occuring in his Ghazals :

دریں ره شود پائمال حوادث — چو نقش قدم هر که خوابیده باشد

[On this road would be trodden down by calamities
The person who is asleep like the footprints.]

In these verses the poet maintains that we should be on the guard lest we should be wiped off the surface of the earth due to complacency, or, due to degeneration into servility and subservience, on account of the absence of assertion and the will to march forward.

A large number of quatrains, bearing on these subjects, can be given, but, I think, enough has been said to show that Bedil, in his

1. *Kulliyat-e-Safdari, Ruba'iyat*, p. 86.
2. Ibid. p. 44
3. Ibid. p. 99.

quatrains, stands very high as a thinker and a poet. Among the great quatrain writers, such as Abū Sa'īd Abul Khair and 'Omar Khayyām, he would occupy a respectable place because of his elegant expression, high ideals, and comprehensive philosophy. Abū Sa'īd Abul Khair makes a saint[1] of a Man—indeed a laudable achievement in itself—but he does not go beyond that. It was left for Bedil to enable the saints, by his life-giving philosophy, to be a vital force in the world. 'Omar Khayyām, on the other hand, is a pessimist[2]. He leaves the riddle of the universe unsolved and finds an escape in wine. The sharp intellect of Bedil, however, pierces the hearts of the atoms and soars to the heavens. He has a complete view of the Reality and offers a most positive philosophy to man for the realisation of his self, and thus equips him to play a most constructive role in life. If, therefore, out of the huge collection of the quatrains of Bedil, a fair selection is made, with a proportionate regard for the different topics dealt with by him, and an elegant volume is brought out, the world would indeed be richer in literature of everlasting value.

Besides expressing these deeper thoughts, Rubā'īs have been employed in connection with every other[3] topic which concerns man. Chronograms on births, deaths, and other occasions; joy or sorrow felt on the arrivals and departures of near and dear ones; congratulation; complaints; bacchanalian topics; statements regarding one's faith, facetiae, etc., etc., all are themes for the Rubā'ī. When we go through the *Rubā'iyāt of Bedil* we come across all these topics and thus a flood of light is thrown on the private life of the poet. The constant demands, made by his friends, acquaintances, and other people, for chronograms pestered him very much, and he complains :[4]

بیدل افہام تا کجا کاستہ است   کاین عرصہ بساط حمق آراستہ است
عمریست کہ آشنا و بیگانہ زمن   غیر از تاریخ و سجع کم خواستہ است

[Bedil how far has understanding diminished,
The times have arrayed a party of fools.
For long all those, who know or do not know me,
Have not asked me except for chronograms.]

Bedil's relations[5] with Nawāb Shukrullah Khān and his family are well known. There are Rubā'īs which express Bedil's love for and gratefulness to this family. Moreover, there are many Rubā'īs which give

1. In this connection read the masterly account of Abū Sa'id Abul Khair, given by R.A. Nicholson in his *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*.
2. Weir, T.H., *'Omar Khayyām—the Poet*, pp. 23, 24.
3. Sulaimān Nadvī, *Khayyām*, 257.
4. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī, Ruba'iyāt*, p. 17.
5. *Kulliyat-e-Bedil, Ruba'iyāt*, p. 88.

information about the poet's faith. From some quarter he got a few relics of the Holy Prophet, and he said joyfully :

بیدل نازد جہان ایجاد بمن   زان دولت عظمیٰ کہ نبی داد بمن
یعنی چوں دید دورم از طواف درش   آثار مبارکش فرستاد بمن

[Bedil, the world is proud of me,
On account of the rich treasure which the Prophet has granted to me.
When he saw I was away and could not go round his door,
He sent his blessed relics to me.]

The following two[1] quatrains also may be studied in this connection :

بیدل رقم خفی جلی می خواہی   اسرار نبیؐ و رمز ولی می خواہی
خلق آئینہ است نور احمد دریاب   حق فہم اگر فہم علی می خواہی

[Bedil, you want the hidden and manifest secrets.
You like to know the secret of the Prophet and the mystery of the Friend.
The Creation is the mirror. See there the light of Aḥmad.
Comprehend the Real Being if you like to know 'Alī.]

آن تخم حقیقت کہ نبوت شجر است   پیش جمعی کہ دین شان معتبر است
بوبکرش ریشہ شاخ وبرگ است عمر   عثمان شگوفہ مرتضائیش ثمر است

[The seed of Reality whose tree is the Prophet,
(According to the people whose faith is creditable)
Has Abū Bakr as roots, 'Umar as leaves and branches,
'Usmān as buds, and Murtaẓā the fruit.]

Bedil makes references about his versification also. He complains that people do not realise[2] his worth. He states that he does not eulogise anybody, but writes verses for their own sake—for the pleasure[3] of making them ; and if at all in his poems he has praised[4] some persons, it is only on account of his love for them. There is also a quatrain,[5] in the collection, which ought to have silenced his critics :

بیدل سودای اجتہادم شان نیست   شوقم طرف کمال یا نقصان نیست
برپست و بلند شعرم ایراد مگیر   آخر سخن شافعی ونعمان نیست

[Bedil, It does not behave me to practise religious jurisprudence
My interet is not concerned with perfection or its reverse.
Do not object to the defects in my verses,
After all these are not the sayings of Shāfi'ī[6] or Nu'man.]

1. *Kullīyāt-e-Bedil, Rubā'īyāt*, pp. 99, 17.
2. *Kullīyāt-e-Safdari, Rubā'īyāt*, p. 50.
3. Ibid., p. 76.
4. Ibid., p. 16.
5. Ibid., p. 13.
6. These are the two celebrated Muslim jurists who died respectively in 82? and 767 A.D.

Finally, it is regrettable that a poet of Bedil's standing should stoop down to the position of facetiae-writers. There are nineteen[1] Rubā'is of this nature given at the end of the *Qiṭ'āt* in *Kullīyāt-e-Safdarī*. The language of these Rubā'is is very filthy and the subject-matter is awfully obscene. It appears that to guard his sublimest expressions against the evil eye, Bedil indulged now and then in such like offensive sayings. I too quote only one Rubā'ī[2] of this nature with the same object:

آں مفسده غرهٔ تب و تاب منی کز اهل تکبر است و اصحاب منی
یا رب بلباس پیریش رسوا کن یعنی ریشش بشوی با آب منی

[That depraved, proud, and egotistical fellow
Who is one of the haughty and arrogant people.
May God disgrace him with his attire of old age;
That is wash his beard with semen.]

The Rubā'ī shows that Bedil was certainly angry with an old man wearing a long grey beard.

As regards the form of Bedil's Rubā'is, the first, second and the fourth lines of each Rubā'ī rhyme with each other, and the rhyme consists of a single letter, or a particular phrase or word repeated as refrain, after the proper rhyming consonant or vowel. There are also quatrains having dotless[3] letters and all[4] the letters having dots.

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1. *Kulliyāt-e-Ṣafdarī*, *Qiṭ'āt*, pp. 58-62. The catalogue of the *Arabic Persian Mss. in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipur*, Vol. III, states under No. 381, that there are 3,000 verses of this kind. Khushgū too says that the number of such like verses is 3,000. Doctor Rieu says that in the British Museum there exists a manuscript which contains satires in Qaṣida form, and quotes the following verse with which those satirical fragments begin:

ایں دور دورحیز است وضع بتیس که دارد
باد بروت مردی غیر از سریں که دارد

See Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 375, Rieu; *Supplement of the Catalogue of Persian Mss, in Birtish Museum*, f. 212-a.

I saw three satirical fragments in the Kulliyāt copied by Ghulām Ḥussain Kābuli at page folio 1029-a. As regards the additional satirical Ruba'is, which have been mentioned later in the Bankipur catalogue under the above-mentioned manuscript, and whose first line is:

یاراں در زندگی زهرچیز رسا

I think, at least some of them are given in the collection of *Rubā'iyāt* in *Kullīyāt-e-Ṣafdarī*, because at its page 5 the foregoing line, with the complete Rubā'i has been given. Similarly, the following satirical Rubā'i has been given at p. 97 of the collection:

زاهد سخن از صدق و صفا می گوئی لیکن یکسر ره خطا می پوئی
ای مسخره آخر چه شعور است اینجا می کوزد کول ودست وروی می شوئی

Many more Rubā'is of this sort can be quoted from this collection.

2. *Kullīyāt-e-Ṣafdarī*, *Qiṭāt*, p. 61.
3. Ibid. *Rubā'īyāt*, p. 51.
4. Ibid. pp. 89, 96, 100.

MUKHAMMASĀT (Pentastitches).[1]

It is strange that no Tazkirah-writer paid attention to the Pentastitches of Bedil. In all likelihood it was due to the fact that their object was simply to give short notices about the poet. In the *Bankipur Catalogue of Arabic and Persian Manuscripts*, however, the Pentastitches of Bedil have been mentioned, but it has not been mentioned whether they exist in the Library or not. As it has already[3] been said, Bedil wrote a large number of poems of this kind, but I have been able to see only 33. Their large number shows that Bedil was very fond of writing Mukhammasāt, so much so that the touching elegy,[4] he wrote on the death of his only son, is also a Mukhammas. The language of these poems is very simple and colloquial, and one feels at every step that the thought predominates the expression. In addition, therefore, to their simplicity, fluency, beauty of expression, and force of emotion, their deep thoughts also attract our attention. The poet himself is aware of these things and he says[5] :

چه سحر مشربی اے بیدل از بدیع نگاری
قیامت انجمنی یا بهار فتنه غباری
هزار رنگ درد پرده تا گلی بدر آری
زساز تقل یک شیشهٔ دلی که نداری
بطبع تست خروشی که کوهسار ندارد

[What magic is performed, Bedil, by your original verses.
A resurrection is the result or a spring exciting disturbance.
A thousand hues tear open the veil before you produce a rose.
Through the tune of the bubbling noise of a cup-like heart, which you do not have
There is an uproar in your mind which even the hills do not have.]

In writing these poems Bedil does not seem to have followed any poet, but in one Mukhammas,[6] he has inserted this hemistitch[7] of Shaikh Aḥmad Sirhindī :

1. A Mukhammas or a pentastitch is a poem of several "bands" each having five lines. The fifth line in every "band" sums up the idea.

2. *Bankipur Oriental Library Catalogue of Arabic and Persian Mss.*, under No. 381.

3. Page 170 supra.

4. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Vol. II, Panjab University Library Mss. No. 255, fs. 435b-437-a. This volume has Mukhammasāt between fs. 433-a and 464-a.

5. Ibid., f. 449-a.

6. Ibid., fs. 461-a to 452-b.

7. Aḥmad Sirhindī, Imām-e-Rabbānī, *Maktūbāt*, p. 44.

باری بهیچ خاطر خود شاد می کنم

[In short I please myself with nothing.]

This line occurs in the thirty-second Maktūb (letter) of the divine.

Except for only three Makhammasāt, in all the rest Bedil discusses those topics with which we have become familiar in the course of this work. Freshness is introduced only by originality of expression, and from the literary point of view it is a great achievement. For exmple he speaks[1] about the Primal Being :

آفتابم تا نشها داشت بی ننگ زوال
سال و ماهم موج می زد بی غبار ماه وسال
نی زدوران زمانم یاد تغییر خیال
نی زگردشهای چرخم انقلاب رنگ حال
مرکز پرکار خود بودم جهانی داشتم

[My Sun did shine without the fear of decline.
My years and months moved without the dust of months and years.
Neither on account of the cycle of time I knew the change of thoughts,
Nor because of the revolution of the sky my condition altered.
I was the centre of my compass and had a world for myself.]

Bedil wrote these verses while talking about the origin of Man. Similarly, he reminds Man of his superiority in the universe and urges him to realise his self. The attempt will result in a tedious repitition if quotations are made about all these and other familiar topics, still it may be seen how fresh the topic of the superiority of Man appears in these[2] lines :

گر صبح کشد بال زیاد مژهٔ تست
ورشام دمد موئی زیاد مژهٔ تست
هر سو فگنی چشم سواد مژهٔ تست
رمز دو جهان بست و کشاد مژهٔ تست
صحرا دمد از خانه چو دیوار نه ماند

[If the morning opens its wings, it is in memory of your eyelashes,
And if the evening develops hair, it is again in memory of your eyelashes.
Wherever you open your eyes there is the blackness of your eyelashes.
The secret of both the worlds is the shutting and opening of your eyelashes.

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Vol. II, Panjab University Library Ms. No. 265, f, 360-b.
2. Ibid., f. 450-b.

When there is no more a wall in the house a Sahara is the result.]

Besides this novelty and beauty of expression, these poems have, as already indicated, a remarkable force of emotion. In the following lines[1], we have been asked, in a most feeling manner, to make an earnest search for the Ultimate Reality which, the poet adds, is not far off:

ای هر زه دماغان سخن یاس مگوئید
گل مفت تماشاست به بیند و ببوئید
آن گوهر نایاب که سرگشتهٔ اوئید
از پیش نظر دور نرفته است بجوئید
آخر بخیال آنهمه ششدر نتوان شد

[O nonsensical people, don't talk in a mood of disappointment.
The Rose can be seen gratis. See and smell it.
That Rare Gem, for which you wander about,
Has not gone far from your sight, find it out.
After all you should not be so perplexed.]

In another Mukhammas Bedil has described the feelings which he experienced when he had the vision of the Ultimate Reality. He did not think that he would have the vision, and he was, therefore, very much surprised to see the unexpected thing take place:

هرچند که من طاقت دیدار ندارم
قانع بخیالی وتماشائی بهارم
افگند تحیر بقفائی مژه کارم
کردی تو بآن گلشن مقصود دو چارم
ای دیده هزار آئینه قربان نگاهت

[Although I do not possess the power to have the vision, and
I am contented with the Thought, and with only a sight of the spring.
I was extremely wonderstuck to see
That you brought me face to face with the graden of my desires.
O my eyes, a thousand mirrors may be sacrificed for your single glance.]

In addition to the feelings of joy and wonder, our Gnostic experienced on that occasion a feeling of elation also:

بیدل خبر از عشرت جاوید رساندی
جامی زدی ونشهٔ جمشید رساندی
زیر و بم اقبال به ناهید رساندی
ای ذره سرناز بخورشید رساندی
ما این قدر آگه بنودیم زجاهت

1. *Kulliyat-e-Bedil*, Vol. II, Panjab University Library Mss. No. 265, f. 459-a
2. Ibid., fs. 439b-440-a.

[O Bedil, you have brought the news of eternal bliss.
You drank a full cup and thus feel intoxicated like Jamshīd.
The sound of the bass and treble of your fortune has reached the ears of the Venus,
O atom, your proud head has touched the Sun.
We did not have so much knowledge about your rank.]

These were examples of emotional felicity. The best example of the expression of the poet's emotional break-down is the pathetic and sad Mukhammas[1] he wrote on the death of his son. It has already been quoted in chapter[2] third and may be seen there.

When we have noted literary points of additional interest in the *Mukhammsāt*, we should review the speculative element in the poems, mainly to find out what fresh grounds have been covered. At several places, during their perusal, one feels that, to make his philosophy perfect and workable, Bedil is accumulating the necessary details and making the much-needed qualifications. I would be content with only one example. We know, in describing his mystical philosophy, Bedil has urged people to give up their worldly desires and to adopt Faqr, i.e. poverty of heart. One could say that Bedil wanted men to renounce the world altogether as did the recluses, and herein, therefore, was a ground for misunderstanding. Hence, to clarify his views on this point, Bedil has written a Mukhammas[3], beginning with the line :

نگویمت که بیکبار ز اشتغال برآ

[I do not say that you should leave your jobs completely.]

In this poem he has emphasised that gradually one should develop a particular attitude of mind which should attach more and more importance to spiritual life. I quote the stanza which sums up the central idea :

تو جوهری نفس و تابکی تعشق جسم   فسردگی مکش از الفت تعلق جسم
بپایت اینهمه چسپان مخواه چارق جسم   چونیست وحشت یکبارت از تعلق جسم
چو آب کم کم ازین کوزهٔ سفال برآ

[By nature you are an Essence. How long would you love the body ?
Don't wither, therefore, because of your anxiety to flatter the body.
This rustic shoe of a body should not stick to your feet so closely.

1. Page 142, supra.
2. Page 142, supra.
3. *Kullīyāt-e-Bedil*, Vol. II, Panjab University Library Mss No. 265, ff. 4346-4356.

> If your attachment for the body does not permit you to discard it forthwith,
> Then, like water, trickle slowly out of this earthen pot.]

The gradual process outlined in the fifth line shows that the poet was anxious to remove every difficulty which people could feel in practising his philosophy.

There is still another point about the Mukhammasāt of Bedil which must be considered. The poet has written two Shahr Ashob poems, of the kind, which criticise his times. Bedil had seen the golden times of the mighty Emperors Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb, but when after the short and comparatively not a bad reign of Shāh 'Ālam (1707-1712 A.D.), the sceptre passed into the hands of voluptuous and self-indulgent rulers,[2] Bedil witnessed depravity and degeneration of unprecedented character, and he was, therefore, much pained. Most sorrowfully he describes the ways of the society of those days and foretells the downfall of the Mughals. In view of the historic significance of the description its summary has been given below. It may be borne in mind that these are not the observations of an ordinary poet, who is usually heard complaining against his contemporaries. On the other hand, here we learn well-thought-out and considerate views of a thinker who, as a social philosopher, was fully aware of the trend of his times :

The Emperors were pusillanimous and lascivious. Their courtiers too were worthless and licentious. Gone were the glorious days when aristocracy consisted of man of integrity. Instead only pampered, senseless,

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1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Ma'ārif Library, Kābul, Mss. No. 504/9, fs. 1060, 1065.

2. Jahāndār Shāh, the successor of Shāh 'Ālam, had a concubine named Lal Kanwar—a music girl by birth. Undreamt of honours were showered on her, and her relatives were elavated to the highest ranks. See my article about her published in the *Yasrab* for September 1951. About the low-born relatives of Lal Kanwar and the mischief created by them, Khāfi Khān remarks in *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. II, at p. 639 :

چنان بازار رود و سرود قوم قوالان وکلاونت وڈھاڈھی گرم گردید که نزدیک
بود قاضی قرابه کش ومفتی پیاله نوش گردد و همه برادران و خویشان دور و نزدیک
لعل کنور به منصب چهار هزاری و پنج هزاری وعطای فیل ونقاره وجواهر بیش بها
سرفرازی یافته میان هم قوم خود سرفراز گردیدند و اعتبار خانه زادان ودیگر صاحب
کمالان وعلماء ازمیان برخاست

[The community of the musicians, minstrels, and songsters had such a good market for their songs and music, that it looked as if the Qāzi himself would become a drunkard, and the Mufti a tipsy. All the brothers, and near and distant relatives of Lal Kanwar were made prominent among their community, by raising them to the Mansabs of 4,000 and 5,000, and by granting them elephants, drums, and priceless jewels. No more there was any respect for the old, loyal and faithful courtiers, other accomplished persons, and the 'Ulema.]

vain, and proud people had been promoted to higher ranks. They were base in nature, light in intellect, and corrupt in morals. Their only concern was to amass wealth, and to add to the number of their palatial buildings and their horses and elephants. Those self-conceited braggarts were proud of their strength and valour, but in fact they had grown effeminate, and like women busied themselves in make-up before the mirrors. They were more quarrelsome than womenfolk, but by their big bellies, large moustaches, angry faces, and proud posture tried to overawe the people. None recognised their authority, still they thought they were potentates. The general public, too, had adopted their ways and men, having greater potency[1] for sexual intercourse, were respected in the society. Unnatural sexuality had become so common that sodomy was practised openly, and women searched "husbands" for their men. As the husbands were henpecked they pimped for their wives. When the society had grown so hollow,[2] in every respect, Bedil prophesied :

گردش احوال نا مردان نمی خواهد درنگ زود برهم می خورد این مجمع آثار ننگ
قلتبان تاکی بهادر زنجلب تا چند شاه

[The change in the condition of the unmanly will occur
sooner than later.
Soon will this shameless crowd disperse.
How long can the cuckolds be brave and the panderous
to their wives be kings.]

And the Muslims of India know, at their cost, how far this prophecy was correct!

TARKĪB BAND

This poem[3] of Bedil consists of thirty stanzas (bands), rhyming turn by turn in different letters,[4] in their perfect alphabetical order, and each stanza has twenty one couplets. The first three stanzas are doxological, and praise God as the Self-sufficient Reality, from which everything originated, and of which everything is now enamoured. The fourth stanza has a discussion about the Eternal and the Contingent, and the two succeeding ones are didactic in content, and urge Man to attend more to heart :

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1. This looks obscene, but I am simply faithful to the original.

2. Study in this connection *Muraqqa'-e-Dehli* by Dargah Quli Khān who wrote this book only a few years after the death of Bedil. The book has already been quoted (p.......supra), and the reference serves the purpose to a great extent.

3. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdari*, *Tarkīb Band* (In Qaṣāid), pp. 2-11. A Tarkīb Band is a poem consisting of many stanzas of equal length. In *Bedil's Tarkīb Band* the last hemistitches of all the stanzas rhyme with one another.

4. No bands, however, rhyme in these letters :

پ - چ - ژ - گ

بغیر معنئ دل نیست هیچ جا مفهوم

[Without the meaning of the heart nothing is comprehensible.]

The seventh, eighth, and ninth stanzas have been dedicated to the praise of the holy Prophet of Islam, and in the next four, the four Orthodox Caliphs of the Prophet, i.e. Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uṣmān and 'Alī, have been eulogised. In the fourteenth stanza the poet sums up what he said about the Caliphs in the four preceding stanzas and he gives the central idea in this verse :

یکی سپهر صداقت دوم حقیقت عدل   سوم محیط حیا چارم آیهٔ اخلاص

[One is the sphere of truthfulness, the second is the essence of justice,
The third is the ocean of modesty, and the fourth the sign of sincerity.]

The next fifteen stanzas are again didactic, teaching Unity and love, self-renunciation, and self-realisation. The last stanza, i.e. the thirtieth, is a pathetic statement of how all the great men—great in intellect, in status, and in spirit, feel helpless when they are at the point of death, and Bedil, therefore, has urged :

تو دل به بند به شاهی که از کمال کرم
نخواهدت بچنین روز عاجز و مضطر

[You should have attachment for the Almighty who, out of extreme kindness,
Will not like you to be so helpless and distressed on such a day.]

Some of the verses in the *Tarkīb Band* are extremely beautiful, for example :

طراوت لب معشوق اگرنه در نظر است
زدیدن گهر و لعل آبدار چه حظ

[If the freshness of the lips of the beloved is not in sight,
No joy can be had by looking at the pearls and rubies.]

بجیب خویش صدف وار گوهری داری
برنگ موج دویدن بهر کنار چه حظ

[Like the mother of pearl you have a pearl in your bosom,
There is no fun then in running about, like the wave, to every shore.]

چو جمع گشت دلت حسرت طپش تاکی
اگر بدست تو آمد دگر بسنگ مزن

[When your heart is settled, why to have yearning for restlessness,
The pearl is in your grasp. Don't strike it against the stone.]

TARJĪ' BAND

It[1] is one of the best productions of Bedil, and appears to be written at the highest pitch of inspiration. It embodies all the fundamental principles of the mystical philosophy of the poet, and he commands, in this poem, a force and spontaniety rarely met with elsewhere—in his own works or in the works of other poets. It was written as a replica[2] to a famous Tarjī' Band of 'Irāqī (d. 688/1289) whose refrain[3] is :

که بچشمان دل مبین جز دوست
هرچه بینی بدان که مظهر اوست

[That with the eyes of heart see nothing except the Beloved.
Everything that you see should be regarded His manifestation.]

I am quoting here Khushgū. He continues : "As 'Irāqī spoke like a mystic, who is still on the Path, he said that everything is a manifestation of God, while a gnostic believes that the objects are the Essence Itself. Bedil, therefore, said :

که جهان نیست جز تجلیٔ دوست
این من و مان همه اضافت اوست

[That the world is nothing except the Light of God.
These, I and others, have all a relative existence.]

As this refrain shows, according to Bedil, the universe, as well as everything else that it contains, has a relative existence, i.e. these things exist only in name and not in reality :

نیست جز اسم بال پروازش
فهم کن آشیان عنقا را

[The wings for his flight are nothing except a name.
Just think of the nest of phoenix.

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1. *Kulliyāt-Safdarī, Tarjī' Band* (in *Qaṣāid*) pp. 11-21. Ivanow talks of a series of Tarjī 'Bands by Bedil. See Ivanow, W., *Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Mss. in the Collection of Asiatic Society of Bengal* under No. 843.

2. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 372.

3. I have not been able to find this Tarjī' Band in the manuscript for published Kulliyāt of 'Iraqī. Professor Arberry has edited 'Irāqī's *'Ushshāq Nāma*, but there too, in the life-sketch of the poet, I could find no mention of this Band. Browne also does not speak about it in his *Literary History of Persia*. There is, however, another Tarjī' Band by 'Iraqī, having the metre of Bedil's Band, and it has this refrain :

که همه اوست هرچه هست یقین   جان و جانان و دلبر و دل و دین

The first strophe of this Tarjī' Band has been rendered into English verse by Browne. See *Kullīyāt-e-'Irāqī*, Panjab University Library Ms. No. 237, fs. 33-a36-a. Ibid., Nawilkishore Edition, pagees 39-44 ; Browne, E.G. *The Literaty of Persia*, III, pp. 129-30 ; Arberry, A. J. A., *The Song of Lovers* (*'Ushshāq Nāmā* ed.).

It is, therefore, God alone that exists and the world as such is nominal and unreal. Whatever reality is ascribed to the world, it is because of its descent from God, and in that sense it is identical with God. But, inspite of this essential identity, it is impossible that after its descent from the Absolute Being, there may be any possibility of its going back to its place of origin. A wave separates itself from the ocean, but then, inspite of its best efforts, it cannot think of becoming ocean again :

روز گار یست از محیط بقا   همچو موج او فتاده ایم جدا

[Ages have passed since out of the Ocean of Eternity
We separated like the wave.

بتردد محیط نتوان شد   موج بیهوده درد سر دارد

It is impossible to become ocean by exertion,
In vain does the wave trouble itself.]

From Bedil's point of view, then, the world is absolutely different from God, and he thererfore does not say, like[1] Ibn-al-'Arabī, that the world is God and that God skould not be sought beyond this world. Bedil elaborates this thought further at another place in the poem while addressing man. He says :

ای تراشیده نسبت مظهر   دور عینیت نماند بنال

[O thou who hath forged the relation of manifestation
Weep as the period of thy identity is no more.

آئینه گر همه حضور شود   نه نماید ز شخص جز تمثال

[Even if the mirror is all in presence,
It would not show except the image.]

Bedil thus maintains that Man can no longer claim identity with God on the score of being His manifestation and image. This shows that Bedil was not at all a thorough going pantheist as Khushgū's remarks, quoted in the beginning, make him out to be. According to Bedil, then, the world may have a relative existence, but, as it is, it is other than God. In my opinion, it is the fundamental difference between Bedil and 'Irāqī, because the latter was a cent per cent همه اوستی, i.e. pantheist, and followed[2] Ibn-al-'Arabī to the letter.

There is still another difference between 'Irāqī and Bedil, and that again is of fundamental nature. In *'Irāqī's Tarjī 'Band*,[3] we find only an exposition of the poet's pantheistic views and nothing more. There is no place in 'Irāqī's philosophy for Man which makes him an envy of the whole creation. 'Irāqī's main concern is monism, but with Bedil Man too occupies a pre-eminent place in the scale of

1. Fārūqī, *Mujaddid's Conception of Tawhīd*, pp. 61, 62.
2. Arberry, *The Song of Lovers*, Preface, xviii.
3. I mean the one mentioned at page 245 supra, foot-note 3.

things. The very first strophe of *Bedil's Tarji' Band* is a vigorous encomium of Man. Only the following four verses may be studied :

ماحریفان بزم اسراریم — مست جام شهود دیداریم
جوش بحر محیط لاهوتیم — فیض صبح جهان انواریم
جلوه فرماست حق بکسوت ما — لاجرم طرفه رنگها داریم
برق عشقیم شعله می خندیم — ابر شوقیم ناله می باریم

[We are associates of the society of Occult Secrets ;
We are drunk with the wine of blessed vision ;
We are the ebullition of the ocean of Lahut (Divinity) ;
We are the grace of the morning of the world of light ;
God manifested Himself in our form ;
Undoubtedly we have got strange modes ;
We are the lightning of love and we smile flames ;
We are the cloud of longing and we rain lamentations.]

The whole of the *Tarjī 'Band* stresses the unique position of Man. It makes discussions about his potentialities, it tells how to bring that potentiality into actuality, and it describes the miraculous powers of Bedil's Ideal Man. While comparing Man with other objects, Bedil says that they too may have their origin in the same Reality, but they cannot claim equality with Man :

نبود هم ترازوئی یا قوت — سنگ و آهن اگرچه از کان است
در شبستان غفلت آفاق — آدمی آفتاب تابان است

[They cannot be weighed with the ruby,
Although the stones and iron come from mines.
In the chamber of the forgetfulness of the Universe,
Man is the luminous Sun.]

Bedil asserts again and again that Man has boundless power and enjoys free will :

گر خداوندیست سلطانی — بندگی هم وزارتی دارد

[If Godship is sultanate,
To be a Man is also a viziership]

گر نگاه تو بالیقین جوشد — هرچه خواهد دلت همان بینی

[If your look surges out with confidence,
You would find happening whatever you desire.]

خواه جنت گزیں و خواه سقر — که تو در اختیار مختاری

[You may select paradise or hell,
For you have got freewill.]

With his freewill and his prerogative Man controls the destiny of the Universe :

ساز آفاق جمله خاموش است — این قدر شور زیر و بم مائیم
غیب عرض شهادت است اینجا — هستیٔ ظاهر از عدم مائیم

سرنوشت رموز هر دو جہاں　　گر کسی می کند رقم ماییم
ابر تحقیق فیض می بارد　　عالمی سائل و کرم ماییم

[The musical instrument of the Universe is absolutely quiet,
We are the uproar of its bass and treble.
The invisible is visible here.
Ours is the being appearing out of non-existence.
The writ of the mysteries of both the worlds,
If it is transcribed, it is transcribed by us.
The cloud of inquiry showers bounty,
A world comes a-begging at our doors and we give.]

repitition of the consonant 'm,' in the rhyme and refrain of e verses, points out with what emphasis Bedil wanted to express views. Man being so sublime and so mighty, it is sorrowful, says, if after realising his self, he is not proud :

داغم از وضع بی نیازی دل　　که بخود وا رسید و ناز نه کرد

[I am sorrowful on account of the indifferent disposition of
my heart,
It has realised itself and still does not feel elated.]

eling of exaltedness is thus the natural outcome of self-realisation, this is the ego-sustaining positive feeling on which Iqbal, in ern times, has laid[1] much stress.

The foregoing remarks sum up the main characteristics of the ' *Band of Bedil* and point out how it is different from *'Irāqī's* ' *Band*. It is also apparent that Khushgū, being a Hindu and efore naturally inclined to thorough going pantheism, could not p the real significance of this strophe-poem of Bedil. It is also r that, in the development of mystic thought, Bedil's contribu- pointed out emphatically to the path which culminated in Iqbal, as a thinker, Bedil is thus the forerunner of the Poet of the [2] as Iqbal is called. Finally, all these comparisons and contrasts r that the *Tarjī' Band of Bedil*, having thirty four stanzas of twenty lets each, excluding the refrain, will stand out as the poet's umental production.

FRAGMENTS

After[3] the *Qeṣāid* many Qiṭ'āt are given in *Kullīyat-e-Bedil* of ari Press, Bombay. All of them relate to different episodes of poet's life, and I have, therefore, already spoken about them while ng the biographical portion of this work. This may, however, dded that the fragments constitute a nice model of sincerity and

1. Iqbal, *Reconstruction of Religious thought in Islam*, p. 165. Iqbal says : The ple of the ego-sustaining deed is respect for the ego in myself as well as ers.
2. See 'Abdulla Anwar Beg, *The Poet of the East* p. 1.
3. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī, Qiṭ'āt*, pp. 44-58.

spontaneousness and proclaim the liberality of the poet's heart. One of the fragments is about the poet's beloved,[1] and describes how lovely the hands and the feet appeared, when dyed with henna. The fragment is exclusively of artistic value, and, as I have not mentioned it before, I give its opening and concluding verses :

آن رنگ که می داشت دریغ از ورق گل
از دور کف دست تو بو سید و بپا بست

[The colour which kept itself back from the rose,
Kissed your hands from a distance and stuck to your feet.]

بیدل تو هم از شوق چمن شو که به این رنگ
شیرازهٔ دیوان تو امروز حنا بست

[Bedil you should also blossom like the garden, because with this colour,
The tape of your Diwān has been dyed.]

RIDDLES

The *Kullīyāt-e-Safdarī* has four riddles[2] also. In the first by the repitition of a word لا اله الا الله (There is no god except Allah) is obtained, and the word is هلال. The second is about the seeds, which grow without being sown, and when they are brought together, they grind like a mill. Those seeds are the teeth. The third is a riddle about the tongue, and the fourth about a mill. The last is quoted below to show the nature of this kind of verse.

شخصی دیدم نه سر عیان نی گردن　　لبها برهم نهانده وامانده دهن
دندانش هزار لیک پنهان بشکم　　کارش همه وقت خوردن و نالیدن

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1. Sher Khān Lodhī says that this beautiful fragment was written when Mir Lutfullah son of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān was married and henna was applied to his hands and feet. See, Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mir'ātul Khayāl*, p. 392.

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, *Qasāid*, p. 64.

CHAPTER VII

Prose Works

1. CHAHĀR 'UNṢUR

THIS is the chief prose work of Bedil and, as already stated,[1] it is primarily the poet's autobiography, though it has not been written in the chronological order; and, therefore, for a proper and complete biography of the author, it must be supplemented by other sources. It was Sirājud Dīn 'Alī Khān Ārzū who first of all pointed[2] out that some of the events of Bedil's life have been described by Bedil himself in *Chahār 'Unṣur*. It can, however, serve as a useful source for the poet's life up to 1100 A.H.[3] (A.D. 1688-9), and hence for the events of the later years of his life we must tap other sources. It was begun[4] in 1095 A.H. (1683-4 A.D.), and was completed[5] in 1116 A.H. (1704 A.D). Thus it took Bedil more than twenty years to finish *Chahār 'Unṣur*. The book has been divided[6] into four chapters or 'Unṣurs. In the first 'Unṣur Bedil vividly[7] represents the moral character, the religious sentiments, and the literary careers of several distinguished persons, with whom he passed the early period of his life. The second 'Unṣur has been devoted to the description of the circumstances in which he wrote some of his verses. The third tells how some of the prose pieces given in this section were produced. And the fourth gives some of the strange and miraculous happenings of his life. While writing the biography of Bedil, I used *Chāhār 'Unṣur* as a source off and on, but as the general plan of the book is unknown to my readers, and as some of its material could not be included in the biography, I proceed to discuss the chapters one by one as briefly as possible.

1. Page 133 supra.
2. Khān Ārzū, *Majma'un-Nafāis*, Mss. Pb. University Library No. 1489 f. 56.
3. Page 133 supra.
4. Page 85 supra.
5. Page 133 supra.
6. *Kulliyāt-i-Ṣafdarī*, *Chahār Unṣur*, 4.
7. *Bankipur Library Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, Vol. III, under No 381.

The book begins with a preface, in prose, which expresses that God transcends all descriptions of Him, He is unknowable, and that neither His Essence nor His Attributes are known to us. Then, after praising the holy Prophet and telling why and with what plan the book is being written, Bedil begins the First 'Unṣur.[1] At first he talks about his infancy and childhood, the death of his father, his admission into a Maktab, and his sharp intelligence, which began to manifest itself in the very beginning. Then one by one he speaks about Shaikh Kamāl, Shāh Mulūk, Shāh-e-Yaka Āzād, Shāh-e-Fāẓil, Mirzā Qalandar, and Shāh-e-Qāsim Huwallahī—the eminent persons who are all Bedil's spiritual teachers. Like Farīdud Dīn 'Aṭṭār, who begins every chapter of his *Tazkiratul Auliyā* with metrical[2] epithets about the new saint to be discussed, Bedil also employs sonorous adjectives in praise of each one of these saints. Having made the beginning in this way Bedil continues the account in a florid style illustrating his points by Maṣnavīs, Ghazals, fragments, single verses, or Rubā'īs. More often than not statement of a fact leads to some profound conclusion, and then Bedil commences, in his characteristic style, discussion of some very abstruse problem connected with Metaphysics or mystical philosophy. This shows why Bedil calls[3] *Chāhar 'Unṣur* as the rose-garden of Mysticism.

About the saints mentioned above, necessary details have already been given in the first and second chapters of this work, and I should not repeat them here, but I would like to state a few more factors about Shāh-e-Qāsim that have been mentioned in this 'Unṣur. Sayyid Maḥmūd, a descendant of Khwāja Ya'qūb Charkhī,[4] was the Governor of Orissa, when Shah-e-Qāsim and Bedil were there.[5] The Sayyid was suffering from a grave malady. Mīrzā Zarīf, the maternal uncle of Bedil, requested Shāh-e-Qāsim to pray for the Sayyid, and consequently he recovered very soon. Three more miracles (کرامات) were also displayed by the saint. A certain person, named Asad, who was a shī'a by faith, talked irreverently about Shāh-e-Qāsim at the time when he prayed for the recovery of Sayyid Maḥmūd. Soon after, when Asad was going in his palanquin, it was overturned automatically and he was thrown off into a pool of filth. There was also another Shī'a Ḥakīm Ṭāhir Gīlānī. He was a highly cultured

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, *Chahār 'Unṣur*, pp. 1-47.
2. Bahār, Āqā-e-Muḥammad Taqī, *Sabuk Shināsī*, II, 105.
3. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, *Chahār 'Unṣur*, p. 4.
4. Khwāja Ya'qūb, a disciple of Khwāja Bihāud Dīn Naqshbandī (d. 791/1384), belonged to Charkh—a suburb of Ghazna. He died in 851/1447, when his fame as a saint had spread far and near. See Ghulām Sarwar, *Khazīnatul Aṣfiyā*, I, 566.
5. Page 36 supra.

person and an illustrious physician, and Shāh-e-Qāsim was very much pleased with him. One day the saint said that he had prayed to God to make the Ḥakīm's inner self also as pure as his outer self was, but he did not know why there was so much delay. The same evening Ḥakīm Ṭāhir Gīlānī went as usual to the tomb of his father, Ḥakīm Nūrud Dīn, to pray for his soul. At first he smelt there something stinking, and then he saw an apparition rising out of the tomb. Ṭāhir Gīlānī was terribly afraid, and was going back, when he heard: "Ṭāhir, I am your father Nūrud Dīn. This is my real self. Learn a lesson from me. My false faith has made me miserable." This led Ḥakīm Ṭāhir Gīlānī to renounce Shīism. When this proselytisation took place Shāh-e-Qāsim recited the following verses of Maulānā Maghribī[1]:

ما جام جهان نمائی ذاتیم　　ما هادئی عالم صفاتیم
گو مرده بیا که روح بخشیم　　گو تشنه بیا که ما فراتیم

[We are the world-showing cup of His Essence.
We are the guides in the realm of His Attributes.
Ask the dead to come so that we might grant life.
Ask the thirsty to arrive as we are the Euphrates.]

The last karāmat of Shāh-e-Qāsim is about a rich Tūrānī Big, who was suffering from consumption, but remained hale and hearty so long as he was in Cuttack in keeping with the advice of the saint, but died immediately when he started on his journey for Tūrān.

At the end of the *First 'Unṣur* Bedil eloquently praises the saints and says:

وصف این طائفه تفسیر کلام الله است

[The praises of these persons constitute the exegesis of the Holy Book.]

And he rebukes those poets pungently who sing praises of the kings who love only worldly glory.

In the *Second 'Unṣur*[2] Bedil tells how on ten different occasions he composed some particular verses. At first he tells how he composed his maiden[3] Rubā'ī at the age of ten, and then he describes how he made a versified reply[4] on behalf of Shāh-e-Fāẓil when somebody requested him to pay a visit to his home. On that occasion, Bedil says, Shāh-e-Fāẓil remarked that Man is the embodiment of all the

1. A thoroughgoing pantheistic poet of Tabrīz died 809/1406-7. See Browne *A Literary History of Persia*, III. 330-344.

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Ṣafdarī*, *Chahār 'Unṣur*, 47-73.

3. Ibid., 47.

4. Ibid., 48-50

5. Page 27, supra.

secrets of Being and hence deserves all the worldly and divine perfections. On that very occasion a person enquired how the I-amness of Pharaoh differed from that of Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj. Sh̲āh-e-Fāẓil replied that Manṣūr uttered 'I am the Truth' only after complete self-annihilation, when he was perfectly sure about the truth of Unity; but Pharaoh said, 'I am your Lord, the most high' when he was still wandering about in the forest of plurality, and hence, on being tested, even the drops of the former's blood bore testimony to his truthfulness, while the latter, on finding himself in the midst of the surging waters of the Nile, cried out that he believed that there is no God save Him in Whom the children of Israel believed.[1]

Having described the circumstances, in which Bedil composed the fragment on behalf of Sh̲āh-e-Fāẓil, Bedil gives an account of a meeting with Shāh Abul Faiẓ, at the residence of Mīrzā Zarīf, when different topics of Metaphysics were discussed, and when, at the end of the meeting, Bedil composed[2] a Rubā'ī. The fourth[3] occasion, when Bedil composed verses extempore, was the convivial meeting at the bank of a tank in Rani Sagar. The fifth[4] composition is a verse in which all the letters have dots and which was written in Orissa in the presence of Sh̲āh-e-Qāsim and the poet Walah of Herat. The sixth[5] are 57 couplets which Bedil added to the preface of the collection of the sayings of saints, made by Bedil in Orissa. Bedil says that Sh̲āh-e-Qāsim sent this collection to another saint, named Sh̲āh Ni'matullah Fīrūzpūrī, with the remarks that it was the first composition of a novice in mysticism, and Sh̲āh Ni'matullah in return praised Bedil and foretold that he would have a brilliant future. The seventh[6] is a description of how a single couplet by Bedil drove of genii from a fort in Mathura. Here Bedil expostulates that even the words of a man, spiritually enlightened, have a mysterious force. The eighth[7] is the following couplet:

از هرچه سرائیمت فزونی　　　خود گوئی چه گوئیمت چونی

[Thou art beyond what I sing about Thee,
Tell Thyself how art Thou?]

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1. Reference to the Holy Qurān, x. 90. It may be noted that the quotation in *Chahār 'Unṣur* is incorrect.

2. *Chahar 'Unṣur*, 50-54. Page 35 supra.

3. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, 54-5. Page 32 supra.

4. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, 56-7. Page 39 supra.

5. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, 57-9. Page 38 supra.

6. *Chahār, 'Unṣur*, 59-62. Page 81 supra.

7. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, 62-9. Page 41 supra.

Bedil used to sing it in Orissa when his heart was consumed by love for God. It was this verse which introduced Bedil to Shāh-e-Kābulī in Dehlī in an occult atmosphere. All the three meetings between Bedil and Shāh-e-Kābulī have already been described in connection with this couplet. The ninth[1] is the couplet told by Bedil to Shāh-e-Qāsim, in a dream, on the subject of modesty, and the tenth[2] is the chronogram about the death of Shāh-e-Qāsim, which Bedil told to the angels in a dream.

Now the third chapter,[3] or 'Unṣur-Seyyom as named by Bedil. It contains six prose pieces of metaphysical, ethical, mystical, and literary value. In the beginning Bedil describes the difference between prose and verse, and maintains that essentially they are identical, with the only difference in quantity—prose being verse in detail, and verse only brief prose. According to Bedil, therefore, prose and verse are similar in nature, and if in Bedil's prose we find embellishments, usually met with in verse, we should not be surprised. After clarifying his views about these literary conceptions, Bedil begins his first[4] prose composition with these words :

نیستی آهنگان محفل اعیان بوی از قانون وجود نه برده اند

[The mortal ones which form the assembly of the essences of things do not have even the faintest tinge of beingness.]

This is the Persian version of the following saying given in *the commentary of Fuṣūṣul Ḥikam by* Kāshānī :

الا عیان ماشمت رائیحة بن الوجود

[The essences have not got the slightest touch of reality about them.]

The occasion for this discussion of a metaphysical problem arose when, in a meeting, people were talking sorrowfully about the dead and Bedil remarked :

هر نقشی که می بینی حرفیست که می شنوی

[Whatever you see is a word that you hear.]

This discussion is hard to understand, and I, therefore, give its summary in as intelligible terms as possible.

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1. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, 69-71. Page 39 supra.
2. Ibid., 71-2. Page 76 supra.
3. Ibid., 73-100.
4. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, 73-78.
5. Kāshānī, *Sharḥ-e-Fuṣūṣul Ḥikam*, 63 ; Faruqi; *The Mujaddid's Conception of Tawhid*, 61.

Bidil says that God alone is the Real being and everything else has only relative existence ; and creation is simply the manifestation of the Names and Attributes of God, as Man is the manifestation of the Name جامع (The Gatherer of all). When a Name, i.e. a word, is the origin of everything, Bedil holds, whatever we see is a word that we hear. Again, the essences of all things are eternally known to God, and His creative word (Kun, "Be") actualises their existence. Thus creation depends on knowledge or a mere thought. Bedil, therefore, is of the opinion that on the passing away of a person one should not feel bereaved because he was essentially a thought—devoid of all real existence.

The second[1] is a short composition about liberality and is named *Isāriya*. Bedil wrote it before he was busy with this *'Unṣur* and appended it here to praise the liberal and to condemn the mean. Bedil says that the holy Prophet (peace be on him) has been praised[2] for his excellent manners, and, as we learn from a study of his life, the excellence of manners and morals lies in liberality, which means trying always and under all conditions to win over the hearts of the people by conducing to their happiness. Bedil further explains :

کیفیت سخا لبز اکتی سرشته اند که تا کریم سائل را ممنون تصور نماید جوهر مروت گداخته است وتا باذل خود را مصدر احسان گمان برد معنئی حیا رنگ باخته ۔

> [The quality of generosity has been kneaded so delicately that if the generous person thinks the beggar is under obligation to him, the essence of generosity is lost ; and if the liberal person is of the opinion that he has done a favour, the meaning of modesty ceases to have significance.]

Liberality has been explained in such a way that it comes to include reason, modesty, and faith also. Bedil speaks disparagingly about the mean and stingy and illustrates his point by two stories, one of a mean trader and the other of a stingy mulla.

The third[3] is a purely literary composition called *Bahāristān-e-Junūn* (The springtime of Madness). When Bedil wrote his vernal[4] song in his *Muḥīṭ-e-A'ẓam*, those of his friends who were interested in the beauties of prose requested him to write a similar piece in prose too. Although the subject had been thrashed threadbare by his predecessors, yet Bedil consented to describe the charms of spring in prose, which, he again asserts, is verse in detail. Elegance of words,

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1. Chahār 'Unṣur, 78-85.
2. The Holy Qurān, lxviii : 4.

و انک لعلیٰ خلق عظیم

[And verily thou art of a grand nature.]

3. Chahār 'Unṣur, 85-92.
4. Page 253 supra.

freshness of similes and metaphors, colourfulness of imagery, and a pleasant abundance of fanciful conceits have lent this composition a novel charm, a glimpse of which can be had from the following sentence :

نگاہ چون طوطی ہر قدر بہ پرواز آید محو سبزہ زار است واندیشہ برنگ طاؤس چندانکہ بال برہم زند مقیم گلزار -

[The sight, like the parrot, may fly as far as possible, it will find itself face to face with verdure ; and the imagination may wing its way to any place, it will find itself in the garden.]

At the end of this composition is a Masnavī, having seventythree verses, in which the enchanting scenery of spring has been described again. The epilogue consists of a statement which reaffirms that Man himself is the spring.

Hujūm-e-Hairat (Abundance of Bewilderment) is the fourth[1] piece of prose in the 'Unṣur. It is a short philosophical-cum-mystical composition, and its literary attractiveness has been successfully maintained. It expresses bewilderment, at the irremovable close relationship, existing between all things of Nature and stresses the importance of solitude. The fifth[2] is again a literary production called *Surma-e-I'tibār* (the collyrium of Honour). As already[3] indicated, this was written by Bedil when he lived in Akbarābād with Kāmgār Khān. It is a composition having *curiosa felicitas* and about it Sher Khān Lodhī remarks :

الحق اگر صاحب نظران سرمہ سواد این کلمات را در دیدۂ اعتبار کشند رواست واگر بہ تائید این سرمہ اعتباری از بلند پہائی فطرتش گیرند سزاست - امروز اگر ظہوری در عرصہ ظہور می بود خفائی تخلص می یافت وبدست انصاف عنان ادعائی نثر نویسی از جادۂ سخنوری می تافت -

[In fact if the wise and learned put the collyrium of the ink of these words in their bright eyes, it behoves ; and if by virtue of this collyrium they begin to have respect for his (Bedil's) towering genius, it is right. Had Zuhūrī been alive today he would have adopted Khafāī as his pen-name, and, out of justice, he would have abandoned all pretensious claims as a writer of prose.]

1. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, 92-94.
2. Ibid., 94-97.
3. Page 74 supra.
4. Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mir'ātul Khayāl*, 396.

The sixth[1] and the last piece of prose is about the advantages of silence (فوائد خاموشی). Although it has mystical import, yet the practical wisdom of Bedil is also there. He asserts emphatically that moderation should be obeserved while acting upon this maxim of conduct, otherwise life-blood in the veins would be congealed. Also he says that expediency should be the guiding rule in this connection. One must speak when it is necessary, and silence should be observed when exigencies of the situation so require. Bedil has also remarked that the end of the *Third 'Unṣur* has been quite suitably dedicated to "silence."

The Fourth 'Unṣur.[2] In this *'Unṣur* Bedil describes some strange things observed or experienced by him during his life. The total number of the things of this kind is twelve. Bedil says that these things may be considered supernatural but in fact they are the result of the potentialities found in Nature. Having made this qualification, Bedil proceeds to describe first[3] the wonder of Life. He tells how life starts from the microscopic particles of dust, moving in the "absolute soul" (روح مطلق) which rises in the form of moisture from the dust. He then traces how step by step life appears in minerals, vegetables, and animals, and how finally it perfectly blossoms out in Man. He has explained that it is will which is the cause of the appearance of ear, eye, tongue, hands, nose, and other organs in Man. Bedil is of the opinion that accidents go on combining endlessly to form new substances, and hence the interminable series of creation.

After this Bedil describes, one by one, the hypnotic glances[4] of a blacksmith in Sara-e-Nikūdar, the burning[5] looks of a Sādhū in Akbarpura, near Mathura, the mysterious disfigurement[6] of his portrait, when he was ill in 1100 A.H. (1688-9 A.D.), and then its automatic restoration to its former state on his recovery. These incidents are followed by those two which demonstrate Bedil's consummate skill in the matter of charms and amulets—one tells how a dead maid-servant was restored[7] to life, and the other shows how the spirits, which haunted a certain house in Dehlī, were driven away[8] by his charms. Then

1. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, 97-100.
2. Ibid., 100-135.
3. Ibid., 100-107.
4. Ibid., 108-9.
5. Ibid., 109-110.
6. Ibid., 110-112.
7. Ibid., 112-115.
8. Ibid., 114-116.

Bedil states how once in Dehlī, while coming back from a walk through the bazar in the evening, he found himself actually lifted[1] and moving in the air. The eighth incident took place in Akbarābād when Bedil found a gold coin[2] of the days of Akbar, and the ninth in Terhut, near a place called Chānd Chor, when Bedil, with two other persons, named Sarmast Khān and Mubāraz Khān, saw a peri.[3] Bedil then describes two of his journeys in dangerous times, one[4] from Patna to Mehsi in 1070 A.H. (1659-60 A.D.), and the other[5] from Mathura to Dehlī in 1096 A.H. (1685 A.D.). The twelfth[6] and the last wonderful happening, described by Bedil, is a unique dream in which he saw and visited in Akbarābād the world of similitudes, and when he also saw the holy Prophet and Hazrat-e-'Alī. Here *Chahār 'Unṣur* ends, and Bedil gives two[7] chronograms which tell that the date of finishing the book is 1116 A.H. (1704-5 A.D.).

The book was begun in 1095 A.H., and hence it took Bedil about twentyone years to complete it, but this does not mean that he was working at it at a uniform speed. Towards the end of the *Second 'Unṣur*, when the third meeting with Shāh-e-Kābulī, which took[8] place in 1080 A.H. (1669-70 A.D.), has been described, Bedil remarks[9] :

امروز بیست سال است مست آن ساغرم

[Today it is twenty years since I have been intoxicated with that wine.]

From this we deduce that Bedil wrote this sentence in 1100 A.H. (1688-9, A.D.), or the first two chapters of this book were written in a period of five years (1100-1095=5). Again, in the beginning of the *Fourth 'Unṣur*, when Bedil has narrated how a maid-servant was saved[10] miraculously by him when he had settled in Dehlī after his marriage[11] in 1079 A.H., he makes the following significant remark[12] :

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1. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, 116-118.
2. Ibid., 118-119.
3. Ibid., 119-124.
4. Ibid., 124-128.
5. Ibid., 128-132.
6. Ibid., 132-136.
7. Ibid., 136. Page 33, supra.
8. Page 64 supra.
9. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, 69.
10. Page 51 supra.
11. Page 60 supra.
12. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, 114,

ازان تاریخ تا امروز که سی و پنج سال محسوب فرجت شماریست آن خادمه از مقیدان سلسلهٔ زندگیست

[Since that date up to this day that thirtyfive years have elapsed, the maid-servant is still alive.]

This shows that Bedil wrote this sentence not before 1079+35=1114 A.H. (1702-3 A.D.). It is, therefore, clear that it took Bedil at least fourteen years to write the *Third 'Unṣur*. And when we know that this 'Unṣur consists mainly of those prose compositions written on previous[1] occasions, we arrive at the conclusion that during the first fourteen years of the twelfth Hijra century Bedil had almost stopped writing his *Chahār 'Unṣur*. He finished it in 1116 A.H. (1704-5 A.D.). This is a conclusive proof of the fact that his speed was the fastest while writing the *Fourth 'Unṣur*. But when we keep in mind that the book has only 136 pages,[2] we gather that Bedil wrote and compiled it quite leisurely, sometimes leaving it altogether, and again writing a page or so after long intervals. It was perhaps due to the fact that Bedil was, during that time, busy[3] with his *Maṡnavī 'Irfān*.

Chahār 'Unṣur is the chief prose-work of Bedil, and hence it represents his style as a prose-writer. It is, therefore, advisable that a few remarks should be made about the style of the book. While assessing the literary value of his prose, Bedil's critics group themselves into two opposite camps. One group has denounced him vehemently while the other has unqualified praise for him. One of his chief detractors is Shaikh 'Alī Ḥazīn (d. 1180/1766) who says[4]:

نثر بیدل بفهم نمی آید اگر مراجعت ایران دست دهد برائے ریشخند بزم احباب ره آوردی بهتر ازین نیست ـ

[The prose of Bedil is unintelligible. If I go back to Iran, no better gift can be thought of for entertaining the friends.]

Ḥazīn is followed by Muḥammad Ḥussain Āzād (d.1910 A.D.) who has said[5]:

"*The Chahār 'Uuṣur*. . . . of Bedil is a famous specimen of fanciful conceits. One is surprised to read it. It is full of izāfats,[6] metaphors, involved sentences, and conciets within

1. Pages 74, 348 supra. *Surma-e-I'tibār* was written in Akbarābād when Bedil was living with Kāmgar Khān in 1081 A.H., and *Bahāristān-e-Junūn* after the composition of Muḥīt-e-A'ẓam in 1078 A.H. A perusal of the contents of the third will relate the same story about the other compositions also.

2. I have in view the *Chahār 'Unṣur* of *Kulliyāt-e-Ṣafdarī*.

3. *Ruq'āt-e-Bedil*.

4. Muḥammad Ḥussain Āzad, *Nigāristān-e-Fārs*, 212.

5. Ibid., *Sakhundān-e-Fārs*, 93-4.

6. The relation of a noun with the genitive case following it is expressed by a ِ and is called Kasreh-e-Izāfat.

> conciets. Moreover, the sentences rhyme with each other and are sonorific. The conceits are so subtle that they escape one's notice, and whatever one comprehends that has no reality. Diction is most elegant but it lacks sense. One is at a loss to understand what has been written and why has it been written. If some history book, or a treatise on Ethics, or a book dealing with some science, or still again some ordinance of the Government is written in this style, what would be the plight of the readers?"

It is apparent Maulānā Āzād is too harsh, and he fails to see any virtue in Bedil's prose. To these traducers Alṭāf Ḥusain Ḥālī (d. 1333-1914) has replied :[1]

> Due to the evergrowing taste for a natural style, these subtleties may be disliked by the people, but these are simply trends of times which are ever changing. This, therefore, cannot minimise the proud achievements of those masters who invented a new style.

Thus, according to Ḥālī, the true criterion, for judging the value of Bedil's prose, is to see it in the light of the literary trends of his times. This will automatically explain why Bedil's prose was liked by his contemporaries, or by those who see eye to eye with them.

Zuhūrī (d. 1025/1616-7) had evolved[2] a new poetic style in prose in his *Nau Ras*, *Gulzār-e-Ibrāhīm*, and *Khān-e-Khalīl*, and this style had become very popular in India. He avoided high-sounding words of Arabic vocabulary and adorned his expression by fresh similes and metaphors, and employed allusions and exaggerations. But he was not satisfied with elegance of expression only. He thought subtle conceits were also indispensable. Thus he used to express subtle thoughts in a most elegant manner, and invariably introduced in his verbal and literary artifices an element of novelty. In addition to this he used to write parallel sonorific sentences, and this parallelism was so perfect that no sentence could be replaced.

Now, as remarked[3] by Khushgū in his *Safīna*, if we observe Bedil's prose carefully we come to the conclusion that it is an imitation of Zuhūrī's style, and if we go deeper and make comparisons we find that Bedil's style is an improvement[4] upon the original model. His diction is more elegant and chaste and his aesthetic

1. Ḥālī, Alṭāf Ḥussain, *Yādgār-e-Ghālib*, 124.
2. Qatīl. *Chār Sharbat*, 67.
3. Khushgū, *Safīna*, Pb. University Library Ms. No. 4540, f. 126-a.
4. Sher Khān Lodhi, *Mirā'tul Khayāl*, 395 ; Wahid Qureshi, *Insha Literature*, Pb. University Library Ms. No. 6835, f. 200.

taste in particular is more highly developed. The following sentences may be studied in this connection :

آسوده تر از عکس در فضای آئینه می تاختیم و بی لغزش تر از صدا در ساحت هوا عنان می انداختیم ۔

پریزادی ازان طلسم بی نقاب گردید چون طراوت بر فرش سبزه نشسته ۔

چمن تا رنگ پریده را شکار نماید از رگهای گل دام نهاده و بلبل تا نالهٔ رمیده را در کنار گیرد ۔ از منقار آغوش کشاده ۔ گردش چشم نرگس نگاه رفته را از عدم بر می گرداند و پیچش زلف سنبل سررشتهٔ نفس گسیخته باز بخود می رساند ۔

I have deliberately avoided to give translations of these sentences, because a diction so chaste and constructions so graceful and original could not be reproduced in another tongue. It was in view of these peculiarities of Bedil's prose that his contemporaries liked this style very much. His rival[1] Sarkhush says[2] :

بیدل نثر های رنگین می نگارد

[Bedil writes elegant prose.

'Abdul Wahhāb Iftikhār remarks[3] :

ذهن سخن بافش به اقشمهٔ نثر دولت خانهٔ سلطان معنی را آذین می بندد

[His (Bedil's) fertile imagination weaves enchanting webs of conceits in prose.]

And Ḥusain Qulī Khān, writing in 1233 A.H. (1817-8 A.D.) has stated[4] :

بیدل طرز جدید و مسلک نو اختیار کرده
در نظم و نثر بغایت دست قدرت داشته

[Bedil adopted a new style, and had great mastery in writing both verse and prose.]

Even a modern critic, Niāz Fataḥpurī, praises[5] Bedil for his elegant prose and adds that each and every word used by Bedil should be prized as life. There is still one more peculiarity of Bedil's prose which has not been noted by anyone else. Like Sa'dī, he is fond of writing short, pithy and paralled sentences, e.g.

مغفرت پر بهانه جوست و کرم سخت التفات خو

[Forgiveness is very much in search of excuses and liberality is very condescending.]

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1. Page 45 supra.
2. Sarkhush, *Kalimātush Shu'rā*, 14.
3. 'Abdul Wahhāb Iftikhār, *Tazkira-e-Benazīr*, 39.
4. Ḥusain Qulī Khān, *Nishtar-e-'Ishq*, I, Pb. University Library Ms. No. 1487, f. 2056.
5. Niāz Fataḥpurī, *Maktūbāt*, I, 119.

دوئی صورت اعتبار است نه معنئی اعتقاد و کثرت غبار بیرون در است
نه چراغ خلوت اتحاد

[Otherness is only the form of things, and not the meaning of belief ; and plurality is the dust of wilderness and not the lamp of the private apartment of Unity.]

Also, as it is self-evident, he omits verbs in the corresponding sentences. All this shows that Bedil wrote artistic prose, and, as in the case of all other artists, Bedil says in Chahār ʻUnṣur that he underwent severe mental pains to produce his works :

هر نقطه که از خامه ام آید بچکیدن
اشکیست بپائی مژه بیتاب دویدن
گر داغ نوشتم ز کباب جگری بود
ور آه رقم شد زدلی داشت دمیدن

[Every dot that is made by my pen
Is a tear anxious to go down the eyelashes.
If I wrote the word 'Scar' it was of my roasted liver,
And if a sigh was written it rose from a heart.]

But when everything has been said in favour of Bedil's prose, this should also be admitted that, if it is to suit all occasions and all needs, the language should not be so ornate.

This was about the diction used by Bedil, but so far as the contents are concerned, he stands all alone. Abul Faẓl (d. 1011-1602) employed the whole wealth[1] of his high-sounding constructions and the train-loads of his adjectives to uphold the dignity of Emperor Akbar. Similarly, the florid style of Zuhūrī simply served to gratify the self-esteem of his patron[2] Ībrāhīm ʻĀdil Shāh. But if Bedil praised anybody in his prose they were saints, whose praise, he belived, was just commentary of the holy Qurān. Moreover, as hinted in *Ma'āṣr-e-ʻAjam*,[3] Bedil consecrated his skill in writing elegant prose to the exposition of ethical, mystical, and philosophical problems. Also it goes to the everlasting credit of Bedil that, in his *Third ʻUnṣur*, he has given five specimens of pure literary prose. These factors, therefore, mark a distinct advance in the direction of employing prose for better ends and higher aims. In view of these peculiarities of Chahār ʻUnṣur, it should be classed with the *Kīmīyā-e-Saʻādat* of al-Ghazzālī, the *Tazkiratul Aulīya* of ʻAṭṭār, the *Gulistān* of Saʻdī, and the *Nafahāt* of Jāmī. Its style may differ from that of the books mentioned here, but it belongs cartainly to their class.

1. Abdul Ghani, *History of Persian Language and Literature*, 239-243.
2. Ibid., 194.
3. Junaidī, Muhammad ʻAẓmul Ḥaq, *Ma'aṭir-e-ʻAjam.*

2, RUQĀ'T-E-BEDIL

As it is clear from the Appendix B, the total number[1] of Bedil's letters is 273. These were written to thirtynine different persons. These include 9 letters whose addressees have not been mentioned. Also some of the letters were written by Bedil on behalf[2] of other persons. The largest number of letters was written to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān and his sons: 93 to the Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, 48 to his son Mīr 'Ināyatullah Shākir Khān, 36 to his eldest son Mīr Lutfullah Shukrullah Khān II, and 15 to his youngest son Mīr Karamulla 'Āqil Khān. The last named died[3] young, and hence the number of letters addressed to him is very small, although we know Bedil loved him very much. 'Āqil Khān Rāzī and Qayyūm Khān Fidā'ī, the father and the son, can claim only 10 and 5 letters respectively. The sixth position is enjoyed by Husain Qulī Khān, Khān Daurān. These facts show the extent of Bedil's relations with different persons.

In the letters one comes across confusion[4] on account of two Shukrullah Khāns and also two 'Āqil Khāns. But it can be easily removed. Nawāb Shukrullah Khān I and Nawāb 'Āqli Khān Rāzī both died[5] in 1108 A.H. (1696-7 A.D.), and hence all the letters, which mention happenings of the later years, could not be addressed to these grandees. Moreover, while addressing these two persons of elevated rank, Bedil is always more respectful. As I have consulted and quoted all the letters every now and then while writing the Life of Bedil, I need not discuss their contents here, but I may add that because of the historical references made by Bedil and the chronograms and dates given by him, and also with the help of additional data available in different Tazkirahs and contemporary chronicles, it is possible to arrange the letters chronologically. A study of this thesis will, I presume to hope, prove very helpful in this connection.

As regards the style of the letters, we have to agree with 'Abdul Ghanī, the learned author of the *History of Persian Language and*

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1. I have counted the epistles given in the Nawilkishore Edition of *Ruq'āt-e-Bedil*, lithographed in 1292 A.H. The Editions of Hasni and Ahmadi Presses too are similar.

2. *Ruq'āt*, Lucknow Edition, pp. 37, 50, 67, 68, 85, 91.

3. Page 137 supra.

4. It is because of this confusion that Khwāja 'Ibādullah Akhtar, who has written a book about Bedil, says that Nawāb Shukrullah Khān was appointed the subedār of Mewāt in 1114 A.H. See Khwāja 'Ibādullah Akhtar, *Bedil*, 14. *Ruq'āt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, 46.

5. Page 115 supra.

Literature at the Mughal Court,[1] that in his *Ruq'āt* Bedil has endeavoured to make his meaning obscure rather than clear owing to the overdone rhetoric and floridity. It may also be mentioned that the objections raised so vehemently by Muḥammad Ḥusain Āzād, and quoted by me while discussing the style of *Chahār 'Unṣur*, refer chiefly to *Ruq'āt*, because Āzād has cited a letter of Bedil in support of his contentions. It seems probable that it must have been Bedil's obscure style in his *Ruq'āt* which made *Chahār 'Unṣur* unpopular. Moreover, there are two letters in the *Ruq'āt*, in which all the words used are dotless. This figure may show Bedil's mastery over language, but it looks frivolous according to the modern taste.

Still the good points in the style of the *Ruq'āt* should not be overlooked. Every time that Bedil finishes a letter he prays in a different way, which is in keeping with its spirit and general contents. Moreover, there are similes, metaphors and novel conceits. Emotive element is also there. The feeling of helplessness and sadness may be observed in the following :

ما بی مایگان از عدم چه آورد و بودیم وازهستی چه خواهیم برد تا بوسوسهٔ این و آن غم حاصلی که نداشتیم و نداریم باید خورد ۔

[What had we poor people brought from nonexistence and what would we take away from the world, that we should feel sorry [for losing what we had not or what we do not have ?]

The philosophical deduction in these sentences has been made simply to console the grieved heart, but the feeling of sadness is so overpowering that philosophy has been suppressed. Another literary peculiarity of the *Ruq'āt* is that at times we come across chaste expressions of the kind we frequently find in *Chahār 'Unṣur*. The following sentences may be studied. I have not again given their translation.

شمع تا نظر می کشاید چشم بر سفر روشن کرده است و موج تا سر بر می آرد جادهٔ رفتن بعرض آورده ۔

زندگی بسر آمده چون نسیم در گذشتن ناچار است و پیمانهٔ پر شده چون اشک در چکیدن بی اختیار ۔

The letters have many chaste and spontaneous verses also. It was in view of these peculiarities of the letters that at one time people studied them most eagerly.

There are also philosophical statements and literary discussions in the letters, and at one place[2] Bedil says that in writing Persian the idioms and colloquial language used by the people of Persia must always be kept in view, for in India Persian is not a mother tongue. These things, however, should not detain us here.

1. See p. 287, footnote, of the book.
2. *Ruq'āt*, Lucknow Edition, 127-8.

3. NIKĀT-E-BEDIL

As it is evident from Appendix C, the Nikat, i.e. the ingenious thoughts of Bedil, are his short and pithy sayings selected mostly from *Chahār 'Unṣur*. Their number as well as their subject-matter varies in different editions lithographed in different presses. The Kullīyāt, brought out by the Ṣafdarī Press, Bombay, has 70 Nikāt, and every Nukta, i.e. a subtle thought, in prose is generally followed by a Rubā'ī and then either by a Ghazal or a Mukhammas. The Nawilkishore Edition has 69 Nikāt, and their order, and sometimes even their subject-matter, differs from that of the Nikāt in the *Kullīyāt-e-Safdarī*. In addition to this, every Nukta in this edition has the relevant *Ishārāt-o Ḥikāyāt* printed separately[1] in the abovementioned Kullīyāt, and also it does not contain Mukhammasāt. There is yet a third edition of the Nikāt, lithographed in the Aḥmadī Press. This has 76 Nikāt, and, like the Nawilkishore Edition, it has Ishārāt-o-Ḥikāyāt at their proper places after the Nikāt. This difference, in the number, order, and contents of the Nikāt found in different editions, shows that different manuscript copies of the Nikāt exist, but unfortunately I have not been able to see any.

As remarked by Ivanow[2] these subtle thoughts have been written in an exceedingly bombastic and very obscure style usually adopted by Bedil when he begins to make some philosophical discussion. Besides sometimes the Nikāt have been made absolutely unintelligible owing to the mistakes made by the calligraphists. For example in Nukta No. 63, in *Kullīyāt-e-Safdarī*, the words[3] آشنا, عبرت and غیبت have been written for اشیاء, غیریت and عینیت. This shows that the calligraphist was ignorant of the philosophical terms used by Bedil. It is, therefore, advisable that the Nikāt should be studied with reference to the context, and this has been made easier by Appendix C.

The Nikāt themselves may not be so tasteful, so far as their wording is concerned; but the Rubā'is, the Ghazals, the Mukhammsāt, and the *Ishārāt-o-Ḥikāyāt* they contain, are some of the finest specimens of his art. Almost every Nukta has a Ghazal in بحر طویل, and we know[4] how melodious, how fine, how juicy Ghazals of this type are. On account of these sweet verses the Nikāt have become very interesting, and we feel encouraged that after the short prosaic

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1. It is because of this that I have given them under Maṣnavīs.
2. Ivanow, *Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Mss. in the Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, under No. 384.
3. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, *Nikāt*, 25.
4. Page 200 supra. Even Muḥammad Ḥusain Āzad, who talked slightingly of Bedil's prose, praises the metres in the *Nikāt*, unreservedly. (See Āzād, *Sakhundān-e-Fāris*, 262.

line or passage of a Nukta we would have the finest blossom of the highest Art.

All the ingenious thoughts and pointed anecdotes refer to religious, moral, and philosophical subjects discussed by the author again and again in his works. In an elaborate discussion of Bedil's thought, these Nikāt have their place, but when I have already made hints about Bedil's speculations while discussing his different works, I should speak here only about those Nikāt whose basic thought has so far received scant attention. Although only brief remarks would be made, yet it would be possible to form an idea about the contents of the *Nikāt*. I may, however, add, that if a detailed exposition of the *Nikāt* is made, it would be found that they comprehend the whole of Bedil's Philosophy.

The first Nukta speaks about Khatrāt, i.e. the ideas that occur to the heart, and thus it opens the discussion usually made by Muslim thinkers about inspiration, may it be of the saints or that of the prophets. Bedil says that inspiration of the saints and of the prophets is identical in nature, and there is no reason why we should believe the one and disbelieve the other. In a letter[1] to Qāẓī 'Abdur Raḥīm,[2] father of the saint Wali Ullah of Dehlī, Bedil says that the ideas that occur to the hearts of the saints are inspiration direct from God. The ideas of this nature, the Ṣūfis says,[3] are of four kinds: the divine, the angelic, the sensuous, and the devilish, but Bedil talks only about the first kind. Having once begun the topic, he reverts to it again and again in the Nikāt. He says[4] that the prophets on receiving such an experience compare and contrast it with the conditions prevailing in the world, and if the experience is of unquestionable utility for mankind, they translate it into action. This is not, however, the case with other people. They act at the first impulse, without weighing the pros and cons of the Khatrāt of their hearts, however defective or full of dangerous implications they may be. Further,[5] Bedil compares the knowledge attained by this spiritual organ, i.e. Mind, with that got by sense-perception. He says that even the iota of knowledge gained in this way is imperishable, while volumes of learning gathered otherwise will certainly go to wrack and ruin. In addition to this, he asserts, by acquiring knowledge through intuitive experience of this kind, we would be saved from the ignominy of aping[6] others, and would thus store our

1. *Ruq'āt*, Lucknow Edition, 112.
2. Page 150 supra.
3. Thānvī, Muḥammad 'Alī, *Kashshaf-e-Istilāhāt*, I, 415.
4. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, *Nikāt*. Nukta No. 13, p. 6.
5. Ibid., Nukta No. 35, p. 15.
6. Ibid., Nuktas Nos. 8, 19, pp. 4, 8.

minds with something absolutely original. Bedil, therefore, suggests that we should constantly take resort to seclusion for contemplation and studying the heart, i.e. Mind. At another place in the Nikāt he says that this regard for the heart means[1] self-study and ruminations about Reality. He warns that, while doing so, day-dreaming should be avodied, and Reality should be invariably kept in view. He also adds that if a man continues[3] contemplation in this way, one day he arrives at the Truth and becomes one with it. At that time duality disappears and Unity is established.[4] But although every heart has latent capacity for getting this unitive experience, it must be purified[5] by self-mortification, and then alone its innate powers would be actualised. Only after purification the heart would be able to receive inspiration in its purest form. But here Bedil again warns that self-mortification should not be carried beyond the proper limits, for the prophets, who left a model for all, had recourse to it only so far as it was necessary for the purification of the soul. He also maintains[6] that for an even growth of personality cogitation and spiritual development should accompany cultivation of physical powers.

This is a brief account of some of the topics connected with Khaṭrāt. As we have no space to talk about other subjects discussed in Nikāt we should take up the next prose-work of Bedil.

4. BIĀZ-E-BEDIL

It is a Persian anthology compiled by Mirzā Bedil. Only two copies of this anthology are extant in the world and those too in the British Museum, London. Dr. Rieu has given a brief description[7] of the contents of the *Biāz* in the *British Museum Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts*, and the following account has been taken from there.

The anthology contains choice poems by a vast number of poets from the age of Khāqānī to the author's time, classed according to the various styles af poetical composition, and arranged, in each class, in alphabetical order, according to the rhymes. Poems written by different authors in the same measure and with the same rhyme are grouped together. The names of the poets are given in versified headings like the following:

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1. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdari, Nikāt*, Nukta No. 38, p. 17.
2. Ibid., Nukta No. 7, p. 4.
3. Ibid., Nukta No. 40, p. 17.
4. Ibid., Nukta No. 32, p. 14.
5. Ibid., Nukta No. 6, p. 3.
6. Ibid., Nukta No. 4, p. 3.
7. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Mss. in the British Museum*, fs. 737a-738b.

بادشاہ سریر معنی اسیر and معروج سخن کلام قدسی

The two uniform volumes of the *Biāẓ* have 429 and 453 folios, which have been written in fair Shikasta āmiz and dated Lahore, Zulqa'da A.H. 1152 and Muharram A.H. 1153 (A.D. 1740). In the beginning there are Qasidahs, Ghazals, Mu'ammās or riddles, Rubā'is, Mustazād, and short pieces in Masnavī rhyme. There are longer Masnavīs by the following poets :

1. Salīm, Muḥammad Qulī, a native of Tehran.
2. Ashraf, Muḥammad Sa'īd, of Māzandran, instructor of Zibun Nisa, and a favourite of Bahādur Shāh.
3. Mīr Yaḥyā—a native of Kashan, who came to India, wrote a Shāhnāma for Shāh Jahān and puns in praise of Dārā Shikoh, died A.H. 1074.
4. Ḥakīm Ruknā.
5. Ṭālib Amulī.

These Masnavīs are followed by Mukhammasāt, and Masnavīs descriptive of female beauty by Mīrzā Bedil and Masnavīs on moral subject by the same. Then there are letters and other compositions in prose by Bedil and other writers, Musaddasāt, Riddles in prose, and versified chronograms relating chiefly to the death of poets and brought down to A.H. 1121. After this there is a tale of a simple-minded Brahman and the wiles of his artful wife in prose.

The margins contain, besides some additional short poems, the following pieces :

1. زادالعارفین—a tract in six bābs, ascribed to the celebrated ṣūfī, Khwājā 'Abdullah Anṣārī.
2. لطائف—Ingenious observations by عبدالاحد وحدت
3. نصائح و مواعظ—'Counsels and exhortations' by Nakhshabī.
4. معراج خیال—an erotic poem by Tajallī, Mullā 'Alī Raẓā, a native of Ardakān, province of Yazd, stayed sometime in India, during the reign of Shāh Jahān, and the later part of his life under Shāh 'Abbās II and Sulaimān, in his native land, where he died in A.H. 1088.
5. مباحثۂ کوکنار و تمباکو—a contest between poppy and tobacco—a Masnavī by Mujrim.
6. Letter of Ni'mat Khān 'Ālī to Irādat Khān Wāẓiḥ.
7. نقلیات بزرگان—anecdotes of the great.
8. Extracts from رسالۂ جشن حسن وعشق by the same Ni'mat Khān.
9. گلشن راز—a Tarji' by 'Urfī and other poems of the same kind.

As it is apparent from the above description it is a very important Biāẓ, particularly for the information that it gives about the

contemporary poets of the author, and, therefore, every library in the East must possess its rotos. As I have made remarks about its contents here and there in this work, I need not make further comments.

5. *Prefaces*

Some of Bedil's works have prefaces in prose and it is, therefore, desirable to make brief references to them.

I. *Muḥīṭ-e-A'ẓam's Preface.* After the usual doxologies Bedil says that the poem is not like the Sāqīnāma of Zuhūrī, but it is a "Tavern for disclosing Truths." He also says that the poets[2] like Hilālī, Zulālī, Sālik, Ṭālib, Ṣāmit and Shaidā cannot apprehend its contents, and only those who possess ripe judgment like Salīm and Ṣāib would be able to form an estimate of its value.

II. *That of the Old Dīwān*[3]: It has also been mentioned[4] in the catalogues of the Persian Manuscripts in the India Office and Bankipur Libraries. It is a very eloquent preface and shows the author's diction and thought at their best. The following verse gives an inkling of the acute pains suffered by the author, to produce something really remarkable, while praising God:

گل از گلزار حمد او کسی چید   که چون زخم از لب خون بسته نالید

[Only that person can pick flowers from the garden of His praise
Who wept like the wound with blood-stained lips.]

Similarly, his eulogy of the holy Prophet, both in prose and verse, wins the reader's approval. The following two verses may be studied:

نام او بردند اسمای قدم آمد بحرف   از لب اودم زدند آیات قرآن ریختند
از جمالش صورت علم ازل بستند نقش   وز کمالش معنیٔ تحقیق انسان ریختند

[When his name was mentioned the eternal names reached the tip of the tongue.
A talk was made about his lips and verses of the holy Qurān were produced.
By his beauty the painting of the knowledge of eternity was prepared.
And by his accomplishments the meaning of Man's Truth was made known.]

The author says that the contents of the Dīwān are mostly the result of his early attempts at verse-making, and naturally in some cases, there must be some flabbiness of language, but he has included all

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1. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdari*, *Muḥīṭ-e-'Aẓam*, 2-3.
2. For these poets see pages 46-7 supra.
3. *Kulliyāt-e-Ṣafdarī*, the first three pages.
4. Under Ms. No. 1676, Vol. I and No. 381, Vol. III, respectively.

such verses because everyone knows "the clear sweet waters are under the rough turbulent waves."

III. *That of the Ruq'āt.*[1] All the different editions of the *Ruq'āt* contain the perface, but the *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī* gives much additional material. At first there is a preface to an unknown book. It appears it was some treatise about mysticism, and most probably it was the collection of the sayings of mystics, prepared by Bedil at the suggestion of Shāh-e-Qāsim. After this a few sentences have been given to preserve the memory of a Maktab, named 'زاویهٔ عزیزیه', established near the tomb of Bedil's teacher, 'Abdul 'Azīz 'Izzat, in 1092, and the chronogram is : 'مقام فضلا'. The third is a preface to a treatise about Geomancy, compiled by Bedil, when he found that all the valuable extant books, about this science, had been spoiled by the mistakes, in calligraphy, made by the calligraphists. The fourth is the preface to the *Ruq'āt* proper and has nothing mentionable.

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Ṣafdarī, Ruq'āt*, 2-4.

CHAPTER VIII

Bedil's Personality and Poetic Genius

BEDIL was born in Patna towards the half of the seventeenth century of the Christian era, when Shāh Jahān, the owner of the Peacock Throne, was ruling in India. Those were glorious prosperrous times, with perfect peace in the land. Trade and industry thrived, and various arts developed, independently as well as under court patronage. It was also a flowering period for science and literature and in the chronicles of the times we come across several distinguished men of learning and various gifted writers and poets. Moreover, the place, where the talented child was born, had not only the traditions of being in the vicinity of Nalanda, the famous seat of Buddhist learning during the Middle Ages, but also it was in the neighbourhood of Jaunpur, at one time the capital of the Sharqī Kings, and in the days of Shāh Jahān known solely for being a great educational centre where different sciences of the Muslims flourished. In view of all this Patna had come to enjoy those blessings of economic prosperity and cultural development which the times could bestow.[1] Thus the environments in which Bedil found himself at his birth were such that, with his expanding energies, he could grow loftiness of mind and sharpness of intellect.

Bedil traced his descent from the Mughal race and his ancestors were soldiers. His uncle, Mīrzā Qalandar (under whose care he was brought up after the death of his parents), was known for his prowess and skill in military tactics; and, of course, Bedil too began to take interest in physical culture from his very childhood. When, on account of the illness of Shāh Jahān, the war of succession broke out in 1657 A.D., the wiry child, who was yet at the beginning of his teens, went away with the armies of Prince Shujā' and saw the action. After this, all through his life, this descendant of the brave hardy Mughals was taking exercise regularly to maintain robust health. He

1. For the purposes of this paragraph chapter I of this work may be studied anew.

had a race with a horse at Patna and won it. He used to wrestle with a stout steed he kept for the purpose. And, once, when in the service of Prince A'ẕam S͟hāh, he killed a lion single-handed. In this respect he does not stand as the unique figure in his age. There are many other persons of his times who are known for their bravery and feats of valour. Aurangzib himself, in whose prolonged reign Bedil passed about fifty years of his life, was a most valiant person. He conducted the siege of eight forts in person[1] in his extreme old age and put his generals to wonder. It was also this age which produced brave generals like Zulifqār K͟hān, the conqueror[2] of Jinji, and Ḥusain 'Alī K͟hān, the Barha Sayyid. Our poet's physical strength and his courage, therefore, fit in with the traits of similar nature found among his contemporaries.

But, in spite of his physical fitness, Bedil did not take up the calling of his ancestors. He was a soldier for a very brief period and then tendered his resignation to lead the life of a darwis͟h. In doing so he was prompted by the example of his father, Mīrzā 'Abdul K͟hāliq, who renounced the world at a very early age and lived the life of a mystic. Bedil's uncle, Mīrzā Qalandar, too was a mystic. Thus from his childhood Bedil found that the atmosphere around him was charged with mysticism. These influences were further strengthened when the sensitive boy came in contact with the pious, loving, and learned mystics living in Bihar in those days. In this way Bedil developed an emotional attachment for the Real Being, and the roots of that sentiment went deep down into his soul, which had to direct his energies throughout his life. This sentiment of love for the Absolute Reality was also reinforced by the happenings of the four successive bloody wars, which were fought during his life for the Peacock Throne, and which wars did not spare even the Emperors, the Princes, and the Chief Ministers. Bedil's early contact with learned mystics gave also a philosophic basis to his mystical tendencies and he was introduced to Metaphysics. To this knowledge he made addition by his study of al-G͟hazzālī, Ibnul-'Arabī, Rūmī, and al-Mujaddid. Thus his mysticism went on growing in emotion and thought with his advancing years.

Bedil's racial characteristics had made his personality dynamic, and, although he had adopted mysticism as his creed, which in many cases leads to a stationary life, he used to roam about freely in the Indo-Gangetic plain. While in Bihar he kept marching for some time with the armies of S͟hujā'; and, with his uncles, he went to Rānī

1. N. J. Sarkar, *A Short History of Aurangzeb*, p. 319.
2. Ibid., p. 317.

Sāgar, 'Ārā, Mehsī, Cuttak and Kesarī. When he had left the provinces of Bihar and Orissa he kept moving for full twenty years between Dehlī, Akbarābād, and Mathura, and even paid a visit to the Panjab and reached as far as Ḥasan Abdāl near Attock. When he had finally settled in Dehlī, after 1095 A.H. (1685 A.D.), he went to Bairāt, although the Jats were rioting there and journeys were absolutely unsafe. And his last journey was again to the Panjab when he was about seventy-seven years old. He had to go there to seek refuge with Nawāb 'Abdus Ṣamad Khān, against the Sayyid Brothers who wanted his life. On account of his constant travels, therefore, he came to have personal experience of all situations. He came across people of all shades of opinion, following different trades and professions, and had intimate conversation with them. He met high and low, rich and poor, Hindus and Muslims, and developed sincere relations with them. He experienced hardships of war and tasted the fruits of peace. He saw landscapes of all varieties and stored his mind with all that those scenes stood for. In this way Bedil came to possess extraordinarily rich experience of all kinds.

The impression made by the personality of this middle-sized, broad-shouldered Mughal, with a handsome face, was unique. When at the age of twety-one years he left Bihar and came to Dehlī, he was quite unknown and absolutely friendless. But before he was twenty-six years old he had found access to the upper ranks of the society in the Metropolis, and was honoured and respected. 'Āqil Khān Rāzī and Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, two peers of Aurangzib, held the young mystic in high esteem, and so long as they were alive their reverential regards for him went on multiplying. Before Bedil had joined the Army and he held any manṣab, Izad Bakhsh Rasā, a contemporary poet, met him, and he expressed the effect made by Bedil's personality in this way :

بیدل همه دل را دیدم

[I saw Bedil who is all heart.]

This shows that Bedil's profound love for God, the deep emotions with which he spoke, and the thoughtful expression he employed influenced all who came in contact with him.

The effect of his personality was heightened by his character. High thinking, of an independent nature, with wide sympathies, he lived a simple life. He prized purity of morals above anything else, and when on one occasion he found that the son of a barber, whom he loved, had taken to things unseemly, he slapped[1] the boy angrily,

1. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, for May 1942, p. 353,

and he died at the spot. Except for the one occasion when he took part in a convivial[1] meeting in Rani Sagar, when he was in his teens, everything on record[2] proves that he was a perfect teetotaller, and we cannot imagine that a person who lived up to his ideals could show self-indulgence of any kind. Riches, manṣabs, jāgīrs, and a life of pomp and glory were not relished by him. On the other hand, he loved the life of a darwīsh—a humble mystic devoted to God, and hence a poor man was as near to his heart as a member of the nobility. He did not feel elated when the Mughal and their chief ministers showered their regards on him ; and he did not think he was humbled when he associated with the low. He had a warm corner for all, a kind word for every one, and benevolent smiles for all and sundry. It was because of his noble character and personal magnetism that his house, in Dehlī, was the common resort of high and low, rich and poor, elite and humble. He stood for justice and whenever some trying situation arose he sided with the oppressed. This shows that he was a first-class humanist, and in this respect he stands all alone in his age.

He had no prejudices and was magnanimous and generous. He had many Hindus as his pupils and held them very dear. They too reciprocated his feelings, and Bindrāban Dās Khushgū and Anand Rām Mukhlis, in particular, speak about him most respectfully. As regards his generosity, once a trader from Kābul brought pomegranates and almost all of them were spoiled. He brought the few, that did not rot, to Bedil and related his sad tale. At once Bedil wrote the following couplet to Nawāb Luṭfullah Khān, the eldest son of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān :

بخیهٔ کفشم اگر دندان نما شد عیب نیست
خنده دارد چرخ هم بر هر زه گردیهای من

[It matters little if the stitches of my shoes have opened out.
Even the Heaven mocks at my wandering about in this way.]

The Nawāb thought that Bedil's shoes had worn away and he wanted money. It was a golden opportunity to render a bit of service to the grand darwīsh, and the Nawāb, therefore, sent Rs. 100,000, which Bedil gave immediately to the trader.[3] On another occasion when Mīr Karamullah Khān needed money, Bedil sent him 200 gold[4] coins which Nawāb Zulifqār Khān had presented to him.

1. Page 32 supra.

2. Khushgū says that Bedil used Ḥashīsh, but the evidence is too meagre. See page 131 supra.

3. Āzād, Muḥammad Ḥusain, *Nigāristān-e-Fāris*, p. 180.

4. Page 137 supra.

As head of the family he was kind and affectionate. When his son 'Abdul Khāliq was born he was overjoyed, and found out various chronograms for the happy occasion. He communicated[1] the good news to Nawāb Lutfullah Khān, who was then away in the Deccan fighting against Kām Bakhsh. And when unfortunately the boy died, he expressed his bitter grief in a most pathetic elegy. His dealings with his relatives were also full of affection. How anxiously he waited for letters from his cousin Mīrzā 'Ibādullah, and how pleased he felt whenever there was any prospect of meeting him! Bedil was on very intimate terms with his friends too. All of us know, his attachment to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān and his family was most sincere. Even the children of the family were impressed by Bedil's affability and played with his pen and inkpot even though he was writing. When they were away with their parents, he expressed his love for them in letters with a throbbing heart.

But a person who loved so passionately also hated vehemently whenever there was something unpleasant. A courageous man as Bedil was, he expressed his dislikes quite fearlessly. But these feelings of contempt were never based on malice or selfish motives. As a high-minded person he disliked only those persons who were led away from the path of justice, reason or virtue. This shows that his feelings of hatred only guarded his comprehensive sentiment of purity. His negation of unworthy practices was only an affirmation of worthy ideals.

From his very childhood our poet was given to contemplation. His uncle, Mīrza Qalandar, asked him to leave the Maktab and to study Persian works of master-writers at home. This was the first step towards developing a contemplative mood in the boy. Then he came in contact with mystics who always advised him to look towards his "heart"—i.e. his self which is the source of all intuitive experience. In Dehlī he gained the friendship of Nawāb 'Āqil Khān Rāzī and Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, who were both mystics, and thus Bedil's tendency for looking into the "heart" was all the more strengthened. Khushgū has said that Bedil remained indoors throughout the day, contemplating and writing his thoughts in verse.

Bedil had his lighter moments also. He was fond of music and at times he enjoyed the sweet tunes of the musical instruments. There is a letter[1] in which he has asked his friend one Mīrza Fazāil to send a Persian violin. Also in his meetings in the evening he passed some time in a humorous mood. Again, whenever his pupil 'Atā came to

1. *Ruq'āt-e-Bedil*, Nawilkishore Edition, 121.
2. Ibid., 90.

see him, he used to recite his facetious verses, and felt very much pleased. This goes to prove that, in spite of his high ideals and noble living, Bedil too, like us, needed "salt" to make his life tasteful.

A few brief remarks have been made above about the personality of Bedil. Now we should discuss his poetic genius. I may say at the outset that, in this connection, we are guided to a great extent by Bedil himself, for he is in the habit of making hints about his diction, creative experience, and creative process, etc. The basic fact about the relation that subsists between the poet and his verse has been admirably stated by him in this hemistitch :

گره کشائی سخنور سخن بود بیدل

[Bedil, the verse unveils the poet.]

According to Bedil, therefore, the personality of a poet is reflected in his poetical compositions. Now if we want to understand Bedil we must study his works minutely. It will not be possible, however, to do full justice to this most important side of our studies at present, still some observations are made to point out the fundamental things in this connection.

At the age of ten Bedil composed a quatrain about the fragrance breathed by a class-fellow. It was a chance utterance, but this revealed to him that he had innate capacities for versification. He had discovered a great fact, and he began to repeat deliberately the triumph he had attained in the beginning quite accidentally. Even the verses he composed in those days were not of a mean order. It means he was one of those rare individuals who have exceptional sensibility and expressive skill. The mystics, under whose influence he lived in his childhood in Bihar and Orissa, gave him not only the sentiment for mysticism, which was the source of his inspiration, but also improved his expressive skill. We know the highest point in the development of this sentiment was reached, when in Dehlī, in 1076 A.H. (1665-6 A.D.) Bedil met Shāh-e-Kābulī, who repeated, while awake, the verse which Bedil had heard in a dream in Orissa, when his love for the Ultimate Reality had grown overpowering. Thenceforward Bedil was fully confident about the attitude he had adopted in life, and this confidence contributed to the power in his expression.

But still these things were not enough to make Bedil a great poet—a poet who transcends all ages. He was yet in need of some inner urge to speak, without which every composition is lifeless. Bedil wrote his first Masnavī, i.e. *Muhīt-A'zam* in 1078 A.H. (1667-8 A.D.). If we go through this poem, we find that the innermost springs of the poet's life have been perturbed and consequently his

diction is full of vitality and power. The key to this state of Bedil's feelings is the question posed by him in the following verse :

اگر عالم این است آدم کجاست   اگر هست آدم بعالم کجاست

[If this is the world, where is Man ?
If Man is in the world, where is He ?]

One concludes from this verse that the young mystic was painfully disgusted with the conditions prevailing around him. He liked to see the Man of his ideals, but he was nowhere to be seen. Bedil had been in Dehlī, the capital of the Mughal Emperors, for about three years, and he had sorrowfully observed that the society in the metropolis had degenerated miserably. There was before him only the prospect of decadence. He was dissatisfied[1] with the contemporary poets, because there was no reality or nobility in their feelings, and they rejoiced only in employing conventional diction. He was displeased with the religious people because they were not sincere to their faith. And he was disturbed to see that aristocracy, the ruling clique, was cruel and unjust. He said in the poem :

زدوران گیتی دلم ساده نیست   زعدلش عنان عبرتی داده نیست

[My heart is not free from the vestiges of Time,
And there are no reins to guide it to the path of justice.]

به نیرنگ عدلش نظرها پر آب   زبیداد ظلمش جگرها کباب

[Through the artfulness of its justice the eyes are wet, and
On account of its oppressive cruelty souls are burning.]

He was disillusioned. As he was a new-comer in the metropolis, its conditions had offered him a striking contrast. It was this prospect of universal frustration that goaded him to try to reconstruct his society. Consequently, all through his life he was trying most ardently to give a comprehensive philosophy of life to his contemporaries.

Bedil had in this way got a theme for his poetical compositions, and in the development of this theme his early apprenticeship as a mystic and the disappointing ways of his contemporaries had both an equal share. The one accumulated the powder and the other ignited it. He thought as if he had been commissioned to restore Man to his pristine glory of thought and conduct. He, therefore, devoted the whole courage of his convictions, the whole power of his expression, and all the wealth of his metaphysical knowledge to persuade Man to fulfil his desitny in the world. He had to call Man back to God. He had to tell him that, after God, he was the only being who counted in the whole of the universe. He advanced all sorts of arguments. He quoted verses from the Holy Qurān and the

1. See particularly the preface of *Muḥīṭ-i-'Āẓam*.

sayings of the holy Prophet. He cited the views of various thinkers—Muslims as well as non-Muslims. And he appealed to commonsense. It was indeed a gigantic enterprise. The theme which he had adopted was no doubt the noblest a poet could dream of. His early training as a mystic had taught him to look more and more to intuitive experience, and, therefore, when he was called upon to address mankind he addressed out of the fulness of his heart. This shows how our poet expressed the noblest of themes in the sublimest diction.

A high theme is worthy of high language. But language of this sort is not given readymade to the poet. He invents it. No doubt, in language and style he is indebted to his predecessors, yet as his personality and his thoughts are quite distinct, he evolves quite a different diction. In a state of inspiration, when the poet is going through creative experience, he feels that the former associations and combinations of words do not suit the shades of meaning or the modes of feeling he wants to express. He, therefore, coins new words, of necessary expressive quality, and assigns them new places with other words. This shows that the words rise from the idea which the poet wants to express. Bedil says:

اصل معنیست کز تقاضائش لفظ می بالد و اداهائش

[The real thing is the meaning, because of whose (natural) requirements
The word and its peculiarities evolve.]

Only a writer of high standing could have expressed the theory of style, and the cause of a poet's predilection for particular words, in so skilful a manner as Bedil has done in this couplet. This explains how Bedil, as a great poet, gave a rich vocabulary to Persian language.

At this stage it must be reaffirmed that, for the freshness of expression, the necessary prerequisite is not a new idea. All that is implied in the above paragraph is this that if a poet expresses those thoughts, which he has lived through, then his Art is inevitably endowed with the characteristic of freshness. We know Bedil studied the philosophies of the mystics and other thinkers, and on comparison we find that *basically* no new addition has been made by him, but, as because of mystical experience all those thoughts have been saturated with emotions, he was able to express them in a most poetical way. Also Bedil expressed mostly those sensations, emotions, and thoughts which he had gained as a result of his actual acquaintance with life, i.e. actual experience of the world in its varied aspects. All this was fresh, and, therefore, he expressed it in a style overflowing with fresh, limpid diction.

To resume our discussion. In his quest for suitable words, most often Bedil finds out the predestined word for a thought, and uses it so adroitly that the thought becomes his special property. In his poem *'Irfān*, when Bedil talks about Adam's fall from the heaven, he writes the following verse :

چوں دریں تیرہ خاکدان افتاد   آفتابی زآسمان افتاد

[When he fell into this dark earthly dungeon,
It was a sun which came down from the skies.]

The vivid and visual words used so effectively have made this thought a property of Bedil. The metaphor is so apt that it cannot be replaced. The thought and its expression have become the life-blood of each other.

Bedil is fully aware of the final relation that is established between form and substance. He remarks that as spring means colour and fragrance brought inextricably together, expression and thought are also similarly interrelated. He says :

زرمز صورت و معنی دل خود جمع کن بیدل
بہار اینجاست سامانش دروں بوئی بروں رنگی

[Bedil, soothe your heart with regard to the secret of form and meaning.
Here is the advent of spring, sweet smell within and charming colour without.]

It was like uniting the soul and body—giving a beautiful thought a beautiful form. Bedil followed this principle of style all through his life and his use of appropriate similes and metaphors was also determined by it. Similarly, his metres are also in keeping with the general spirit of his thoughts. They have the peculiarity of naturalness. They are the natural tone of the mood of the poet. For example the metre of the following verse expresses sadness—the mood which predominated while writing the poem :

چیست این باغ و این شگفتنہا   سر آبی و سیر روغنہا

[What is this garden and its blossoming?
Only oil spilt on the surface of water.]

In this way Bedil employs metres which suit his different moods. Thus, in Bedil, as he himself says, the thought and its expression, i.e. the words, similes, metaphors, and metres in which the thoughts are couched, all grow and develop spontaneously.

We observe vigour and force also in Bedil's style. This vitality is the result of various causes. His firm convictions and his sublime theme are the two factors, hints about which have already been made. But there is another fundamental ingredient of the poet's spirit which should not be overlooked in this connection. It is his

masculinity. His race, the traditions of his family, and his personal courage had made his mind very masculine, and this peculiarity quite naturally found its way into his diction. In addition to this Bedil has used various artifices for making his style vigorous and emphatic. An account of such like artifices was made while enumerating the literary peculiarities of Bedil's Ghazals. I may add at this place that Bedil is very fond of repeating the same word for this purpose. In the *Musnavī Ṭūr-e-Ma'rifat*, he tells Man that he is an enigma waiting for solution, and uses the artifice of repetition of words to lend force to his statement:

معمائی . معمائی معما   اگر خواهی کشودن چشم بکشا

[You are an enigma, an enigma, an enigma,
If you like to solve it, open your eyes.]

Here the 'm' sound itself is very emphatic, and stress on the word معما has been laid in the first hemistitch with the object of drawing pointed attention to what is being said in the second. A large number of similar verses can be quoted.

We have considered so far how Bedil's expression came to have life and power. We have yet to find out how he was poetically inspired while writing his poems. With a view to this we must consider the circumstances in which Bedil wrote his poems. He wrote his *Ṭilism-e-Ḥairat* in 1080 A.H. (1669-70 A.D.), and there he has told how the central idea of the poem developed in his mind. One night he lay awake and tried to find out a motif, until an idea occurred, but it was not so vivid in the beginning. He focussed it and grew imaginative. This visualisation moved him, and very soon he was charged with inspiration. We find here that concentration was the cause of creative experience. Now we turn to another type of poetic inspiration. Bedil went to Bairāt with Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, and he was so much impressed by the scenery of the place that this beautiful Masnavī *Ṭūr-e-Ma'rifat* was the result. In the case of this poem we find that the creative urge was the outcome of influences received from without. There are many more poems, of this nature, which Bedil wrote, when he had seen some scene or read some poem or verse of another poet. If we study Bedil's poems one by one we find that inspiration was either the result of reflection or that of the impact of some outward object or event upon the personality of the poet, and he was moved to supreme poetical activity. But as the poet's personality was coherent his principal theme remained unaltered.

I give below two verses of Bedil which refer to the two distinctive processes pointed out in the foregoing paragraph. The first is:

شب مہتاب ذوق گریہ دارد فیضہا بیدل
کدا مین بیخبر روغن ندارد از چنیں شیری

[In a moonlit night our relish for weeping has abundant food,
Is there some ignorant person who will not get oil (ghee) from such like milk.]

This emphasises the objective nature of creative inspiration. The second verse is:

گر ہمہ بر خاک پیچد عشق حسن آرد بروں
کوشش فرہاد آخر کرد شیریں سنگ را

[Love may roll always on earth. It will still create Beauty.
The untiring efforts of Farhād ultimately turned the stone into Shīrīn (شیریں—his beloved.]

This refers to the subjective element in all artistic creations. It will be noted that Bedil did not contribute to any particular view, but he realised the significance of both objective and subjective origin of Art.

Having reached here we are in a position to visualise Bedil's creative process, hints about which have been made by the poet himself here and there in his works.[1] A certain incident, or a poem, or a verse, or some thought has caused a tinkling, shivering feeling to run through his body, and his imagination has been set ablaze. He is expressing the genuine and real feelings through which he is passing at the time. The feelings may be of joy or sorrow, he is experiencing the consequent pleasure or pain. The thought is developing as the poem grows. He has to find adequate phraseology, and then the ideas are so numerous, rather infinite, that they cannot be contained in finite words. And sometimes the pen-picture, he wants to draw, is too ideal to take the form of words, and he says painfully:

بیدل بیاد سرو تو در خوں طپید لیک
موزوں نگشت یک الف از مشق آہ او

[In his longing for your cypress-like stature Bedil rolled in blood,
But by his constant practice in sighing he could not produce a single lovely Alaf.]

So long as these creative pangs continue, he has no rest, and when the experience is over, his poem is also complete.

We have seen how Bedil's poems came into being. He speaks from a bleeding heart and, therefore, his poems must move others.

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdari*, *Tilism-e-Ḥairāt*, 8; *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat*, 2; *Chahār 'Unṣur*, 73.

بیدل خونیں جگرم بلبل بی بال و پرم
نیست دریں غمکدها نالهٔ من بی اثری

[Bedil ! my liver is bleeding. I am a nightingale without wings and feathers.
Hence my groans cannot fail to move the people in this distressed world.]

But to appreciate his poems one must approach them with a sympathetic heart :

تب‌وتاب اشک چکیده ام که رسد بمعنیٔ راز من
زشکست شیشهٔ دل مگر شنوی حدیث گداز من

[My agitation is that of a dropped tear.
Who can reach the depth of my secret ?
Perhaps by having a broken heart
You might understand my woeful tale.]

These are Bedil's confessions. After studying them try to imagine the anguish through which the poet passed during his life. His was indeed a most afflicted soul.

The origin of a poem displays the emotive and imaginative powers of a poet, and its structural characteristics show the synthetic side of his mind—it shows how his mind developed a poem into a harmonious whole. Persian lyrics are rarely the result of consistent thought, and there unity is generally maintained by the measure and rhyme. Bedil's lyrics are not an exception to the rule, although he has got a large number of such lyrics in which this defect has been avoided. His Rubā'īs, fragments, panegyrics, and quintets (مخمسات), like those of the other Persian poets, express individually an uninterrupted mood or inspiration. His *Tarkīb Band* is a loose poem, while the *Tarjī Band* is perfectly coherent—the unifying element lying in the idea contained in the recurring verse (ترجیع).

But these were comparatively shorter poems. Difficulty arises with the longer ones, i.e. the Maṣnavīs, where so many emotional moods are to be strung together. If a poet succeeds there, he is fit to be called a major[1] poet. Bedil's first Maṣnavī is *Muhīṭ-e-A'ẓam* which he wrote in 1078 A.H. (1667 A.D.), at the age of twentyfour. As it was the poet's maiden attempt its plot is not so unified, but as the poem progresses one feels the presence of an unexpressed cohesion because of unity of thought and similarity of emotion. His *Ṭlism-e-Ḥairat* was written two years later. Being an allegory, this poem is a perfect model of harmony and concord. Interest is kept alive by action, dialogue, and visual imagery. The third long poem of Bedil is *Ṭūr-e-Ma'arifat* which was

1. Cf. Read, *Collected Essays*, 57. "The distinction between a major and a minor poet is the capacity to write a long poem successfully."

written towards the end of the eleventh century of Hijra. As the poet says at the end of the poem :

خیالی را بہاری نقش بستم

[I painted spring out of a thought]

he conceived an idea on seeing the charming scenery of Bairāt, and this poem, which is a nice specimen of natural poetry, came into being. It is well knit and describes a simple emotional mode though the result is picturesque and rich in details. The last and the longest poem of Bedil is the *Masnavī 'Irfān* which was completed in 1124 A.H. (1712 A.D.). In fact, it has two Masnavīs : *Mirātullah* (The Divine Mirror) and the *'Irfān* proper. The former is more philosophical and less poetical. It is informative and conceptual, and is devoid of action or illustrative stories. The poet has tried to introduce imagery at various places, but as the theme of the poem is the "Cycle of Descent and Ascent"—a most abstruse theme, it makes very tedious reading. The poem, therefore, has coherence but at the cost of poetical element. *'Irfān* proper is the longest and best poem of Bedil. Like a panorama, it unrolls a number of fascinating scenes, many stories of abiding interest, diverse characters full of life and individuality, and different kinds of poetry : natural, romantic, epic, and philosophical. It is, besides, most poetical and least philosophical. The form and the thought balance each other beautifully, and at times the expression is marvellous in point of depth and clearness of thought, intensity of emotions, and economy of words. The poet is in fact at his best in this poem. It was really extremely difficult to create unity in this diversity but the poet succeeded by sticking to the dominating idea—a story in the form of a dialogue which more often changes into a lively discourse. A study of the structure of all these poems has shown that Bedil ranks among Firdausī, Rūmī, Nizamī, and other major[1] Persian poets who were very successful in writing longer poems.

In the preceding paragraph a reference was made to the different kinds of poetry found in Bedil's *Masnavī 'Irfān*. I must tell a basic thing about all these kinds of Bedil's verse. Before doing so, however, I like to emphasise the point that Bedil not only loved and described the beautiful scenes he saw while journeying about, but also he loved the country in which he found them. India, a land of light,[1] colour and scent, has recieved unqualified praise from him. He likes its betel-leaves also, and has described them beautifully at various places.

1. Page 234 supra.

Now the basic point about Bedil's poetical compositions. If we go through his works, from one end to the other, we find that his poems are permeated with his philosophical thought. While speaking about his *Masnavī Ṯūr-e-Ma'rifat* I have already[1] shown how Bedil's belief about Man being the epitome of creation runs as an undercurrent in the poem. Taking our cue from these remarks, if we study Bedil's Ghazals or his Qaṣīdas, etc., we will find that the same belief is reflected in so many other verses.[2] Similarly, when Bedil says, "We see only the charms of Man in the Moon, the stars, the brilliant twilight, and in the colourful rainbow and the beautiful rose-garden," we should not conclude it is mere sentimentalism, but we must know Bedil, the thinker, is telling that Man is the spirit[3] whence all things have their origin. In Bedil's works there is an overwhelmingly large number of verses which only a philosopher habituated to thought could write. We see that the background of his words consists of considered process of thought; and his epithets and metaphors, though highly poetical, are in reality related to his philosophy. The first two pages of the *Masnavī 'Irfān*, and his Qaṣīda,[4] in which Man has been addressed, may be studied for this purpose. It will be found that Bedil's rhetoric is very powerful, and a closer study would show at the same time that it is compact with thought. We may, therefore, read any type of Bedil's verse, we are sure to find the poet-philosopher lucking there.

As Khushgū and S.A. Vahid have remarked[5], it goes to Bedil's credit that he expressed the abstract thought of Ibn al-'Arabī and other writers of his type, in an extremely poetical way, using all the elegant expression of the Tāzāgū poets. Bedil's art is, therefore, a most coherent system of thought expressed in a most elegant way. It is clear that Bedil made a great experiment in Persian literature. He fused mystical thought, philosophical speculations, and sweetness of expression in such a way that they became

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1. Page 274 supra.
2. For example study the following verses :

دل هر قطره گردا بیست غواص حقیقت را
تامل در بن هر مو گره صد بار می بیند

خیال آشفتگی تحمل اگر شود صرف یک تامل
دل غباری وصد چمن گل نگاه سوری وصد چراغان

These poetical expressions have at their bottom the idea that Man is a microcosmos in appearance but a macrocosmos in essence.

3. Nicholson, R.A., *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, 108.
4. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdari, Qasaid,*
5. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May, 1942; Vahid, S.A., *Iqbal, His Art, and Thought*, 194.

vital for one another. As such Bedil belongs to that class of poets who have earned everlasting[1] fame for expressing philosophical thoughts in a most poetical way.

This basic point about Bedil's verse discloses his attitude towards Art also. He was not one of those poets whose main object is Art itself. He used his skill in writing poetry for the attainment of a nobler object which lay beyond Art. His contemporary[2] poets, who were proud of their Tāzagūī, looked simply to niceties of expression, but Bedil had something else in view. He said:

عرض مطلب دیگر و اظهار صنعت دیگرست
بیدل از آئینه نتوان ساخت وضع جام را

[To secure expression of thoughts is something else, but to make a display of skill is totally different.
O Bedil, it is impossible to design a cup from a mirror.]

He wanted that his Art should serve him only in expressing his thoughts, or, according to him, "communication is style." He had a mission in life—a mission to regenerate mankind, and he wished that Art must be subservient to it. Other poets wrote panegyrics of the Emperors and princes, and expressed therein their false feelings. But Bedil did not like to be false to himself. He expressed only his genuine feelings in everything he wrote, and, therefore, he called himself a poet who would eulogise only his nature. He wrote neither the encomiums of the monarchs, nor he worshipped the deity of Art, but employed his extraordinary poetical talents for the advancement of human good, and this too in an age when very few, if any, thought that Art could be consecrated to higher aims.

The End

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1. In this connection study: Read, H., *Collected Essays*, 69-88; Santayana, *Three Philosophical Poets.* Herbert Read has successfully shown that philosophy is not inconsistent with poetry. He says that as poetry of this kind is the result of the triumph of reason in blending all knowledge and experience into one coherent system, it is very powerful. It expresses thoughts about whose significance we feel most intensely.

2. For this purpose read *Kalimātuth Shu'arā* by Sarkhush.

APPENDIX A

Serial No.	Ishārāt-o-Hikāyāt Opening Lines	Page	Subject-matter	From where selected Name of the Book	Page
1.	زبانم قابل حمد خدا شد	2	Praise of the Holy Prophet.	*Ṭilism-e-Ḥairat*	6
2.	سحر آئینه هم پرواز دل بود	2	Life universally found.	*Ṭūr-e-Ma'rifat*	8
3.	نصیحتگری وعظ آماده داشت	2	Love is all inclusive.	*Muḥiṭ-e-A'ẓam* Ms.	f.996
4.	شبی داشتم وجد بیتابی*	2	Symbolic nature of Bedil's wine.	do	F.104s.
5.	بگوش نغمه سنج محفل راز	3	Water, fire, stone explained.	*Ṭūre-e-Ma'rifat*	3
6.	شبی کز گریه طوفان کاریم بود	3	Poverty (فقر) as the essence of joy.	do	7
7.	سر قطرهٔ را هوا در گرفت	3	The part points to the whole.	*Muḥiṭ-e-A'ẓam*	7
8.	زنکبت سرشتان دل افسرده*	3	Meanness denounced.	do	7
9.	زچشم طالبان دانش آهنگ	3	No lethargy in Nature.	*Ṭūr-e-Ma'rifat*	7
10.	گذر کرد مجنون لیلئے خیال	3	Beloved appars everywhere.	*Muḥīṭ-e-A'ẓam* Ms.	f.486
11.	شبی بر تیغ کوهی بود جایم	3	Every object manifests beauty and unity.	*Ṭūr-e-Ma'rifat*	10

Muḥiṭ-e-A'ẓam Ms., Punjab University library No. 1524. This manuscript has been used for all references in this Appendix to the Ms. copy of the Masnavī.

Serial No.	Ishārāt-o-Ḥikāyāt Opening Lines	Page	Subject-matter	From where selected Name of the Book	Page
12.	شبی بودم قدح پیمای حالی	3	The rich are stone-hearted as their gold is extracted from stones.	*Ṭūr-e-Ma'rifat*	12
13.	شبی سر گرم عبرت شر نگاهم	4	Silence should come with death alone.	do	19
14.	اللهی تهمت آباد ظهوریم	4	Illusory nature of life.	*Ṭilism-e-Ḥairat*	4
15.	شنیدم زنی صبح ز آئینهٔ	4	Love of the phenomenal.	*Muḥīt-e-A'ẓam* Ms.	f.79a.
16.	شنیدم ادب کرد مولای روم	4	Fastidious regard for dress.	do	f.80a.
17.	اللهی حیرت سازم چه باشد	5	Prayer to God	*Ṭilism-e-Ḥairat*	5
18.	شبی داشتم سیر میخانهٔ	4	Self-annihilation.	*Muḥīṭ-e-A'ẓam* Ms.	f.95a
19.	یکی غافل از رنگ ما و توئی	5	Unity of Self.	do	f.108a
20.	سحر گاهی از چشم بیدار فهم	5	Unity in Plurality.	do	f.130b
21.	ز ارباب تحقیق صاحب دلی	5	Duality an illusion	do	f.134a
22.	شنیدم جریفی ترنم پرست	6	Time is fleeting.	do	f.137a
23.	زگلزار معنی یقیں پیشهٔ	6	Discover the Self	do	f.140a
24.	شبی روح منصورم آمد بخواب	6	Attributes nothing but Essence Itself.	do	f.148a
25.	به بازار شد ابلهی بے خبر	7	A credulous person.	do	f.149a
26.	فضولی بآئین کار آگهان	7	A braggart.	do	f.156b
27.	زتحقیق اسرار بیگانهٔ	8	Existent Beings are God's words.	do	f.182a
28.	شبی در طربگاه فکر سخن	8	Speech prevails everywhere	do	f.182b
29.	بد شتی یکی از شکار افگنان	8	Self the sole Reality.	do	f.183b
30.	عشق از مشت خاک آدم ریخت	8	Universe created for Man.	*'Irfān*	1

Serial No.	Ishārāt-o-Hikāyāt Opening Lines	Page	Subject-matter	From where selected Name of the Book	Page
31.	کودکی نان بدست بازی داشت	8	While abusing we abuse ourselves,	*'Irfān*	5
32.	ای تو هم غبار دشت چمن	8	Creation an illusion	do	7
33.	شوکت دستگاه هستیٔ ما	9	Life an illusion.	do	10
34.	بود کم ظرف از خرد خالی	9	Over-carefulness is ruinous	do	13
35.	ای عدم زادهٔ وجود طراز	9	The Universe is not-being.	do	41
36.	دو کمال انتظام امکانی	9	It is extremely difficult to be a Man.	do	42
37.	چیست این باغ درسگاه رمی	10	Everything in the world is perishable.	do	43
38.	شعله جوشی بسیر انجمنی	10	Self-annihilation.	do	45
39.	چیست فقرو غنائی ملک وجود	11	Poverty and riches explained.	do	49
40.	این یکی شمع مجلسی افروخت	11	Present more important than Future.	do	49
41.	زین بیابان که وحشت انجام است	11	Vain desires.	do	50
42.	مردکی طبع ناشکیبی داشت	11	do	do	52
43.	دخمه است این بساط گردو غبار	11	Men are but corpses.	do	53
44.	بهررنگ آفاق صرف است وبس	11	The Universe is an illusion.	*Muḥit-e-A'ẓam*	?
45.	ای تردد نسب توکل چند	11	Trust in God not synonymous with idleness.	*'Irfān.*	53
46.	انبیاء صاحب دعوت بودند	12	Shameless people are but ghouls.	*Chahār 'Unṣur*	10
47.	آدمی نطرت است و نطرت تام	12	Elegant expression is a great virtue.	do	14

Serial No.	Ishārāt-e-Ḥikāyāt Opening Lines	Page	Subject matter	From where selected Name of the Book	Page
48.	نه همین عقل راست سیر کمال	12	The Fools too have a philosophy of their own.	*'Irfān*	?
49.	ای ز آلفت بیخبر ما از توایم	12	Duality has no ground.	*Chahār 'Unṣur*	41
50.	اندیشهٔ غیب ما، شهود است	13	do	?	?
51.	ابلهی راز طبع جهل فسون	13	Vain efforts.	*'Irfān*	55
52.	عاشقی چیست داغ محرومی	13	Concomitants of love.	do	67
53.	گربهٔ راز طبع حرص کمین	13	A cat as the guardian of rats.	do	75
54.	گرچه انسان بکشف راز حسد	14	What wheat means for Man?	do	78
55.	گرچه عذلت حصار آنتهاست	14	Death inevitable and weakness criminal.	do	84
56.	آدمی تا بحرص پا افشرد	15	Greed denounced.	do	
57.	عاشقی بیدلی جنون زدهٔ	15	A cruel Beauty.	do	
58.	ای شراری گرفته دامن سنگ	15	To lack worth is dangerous.	do	
59.	یکی دید در کنج میخانهٔ	15	The consuming Love.	*Muḥīt-e-A'ẓam* Ms.	f.69a
60.	بدیر مغان دل ز کف دادهٔ	15	do	do	f.75a
61.	ای بزندان خیال زندگی	16	Spiritless life a curse.	*Chahār 'Unṣur*	69
62.	ای باسباب من و ما متهم	16	Futility of worldly desires.	do	70
				do	70
63.	صدائیست پیچیده درکائنات	16	Universe the result of (Be!)-itself the sound of a word.	do *Muḥit-e-A'ẓam* Ms.	68 f.180a
64.	دریں بحر پر کسوت ما و تو	16	The Universe is but God's word.	*Chahār 'Unṣur*	43

Serial No.	Ishārāt-o-Ḥikāyāt Opening Lines	Page	Subject-matter	From where selected Name of the Book	Page
65.	وصف آنہائیکہ شاہ مطلق اند	16	Gnostics praised.	*Chāhar ʻUnṣur*	46
66.	چہ سحراست این حسن نیرنگ و بود	16	The word (Be!) has filled the void.	do	56
67.	درین گنبد شیشہء سادہ رنگ	17	The world is an illusion.	*Muḥīṭ-e-Aʻẓam*	
68.	تعالی اللہ چہ طوفان بہار است	17	Description of Spring Season.	*Chahār ʻUnṣur*	91
69.	ای زبان بخش مغفرت طلبی	18	Prayer to God.	?	?

APPENDIX B

Number of Letters addressed to Different Persons

No.	Names of the addressees		No. of letters addressed
1.	Nawāb Shukrullah Khān I	...	93
2.	'Ināyatullah Shākir Khān	...	48
3.	Luṭfullah Shukrullah Khān II	...	36
4.	Karamullah 'Āqil Khān	...	15
5.	'Āqil Khān Rāzī	...	10
6.	Ḥusain Qulī Khān	...	9
7.	Qayyūm Khān Fidāī son of 'Āqil Khān Rāzī	...	5
8.	Chīn Qilch Khān Niẓāmul Mulk	...	5
9.	Maulānā 'Abdul 'Azīz 'Izzat	...	4
10.	Mīrzā Zainul 'Ābidīn.	...	4
11.	Mīrzā 'Ibādullah	...	3
12.	Mīrzā Īzad Bakhsh Rasā	...	3
13.	Mīrzā Faẓāil son of Mīr Muḥammad Fāẓil	...	2
14.	Mīrzā Muḥammad Na'īm Bakhshī of Bahādur Shāh	...	2
15.	Prince A'ẓam Shāh	...	1
16.	Mīrzā Mu'īn	...	1
17.	Shaikh Muḥammad Māh	...	1
18.	Mīrzā Dāwar Yār	...	1
19.	Muḥammad Amīn 'Irfān	...	1
20.	Shaikh Ghulām Muḥy-ud-Dīn	...	1
21.	Mīr Raẓī Waḥdat	...	1
22.	Mīān La'l Muḥammad	...	1
23.	Rafī' Khān Bāẓil	...	1
24.	Mīrzā Rūḥullah	...	1
25.	Mīrzā Salman	...	1
26.	Fattū Khān	...	1
27.	Mīrzā Kāmgār	...	1
28.	Ḥusain 'Alī Khān Bahādur	...	1

No.	Names of the addressees to Different Persons		No. of letters addressed
29.	Mīr 'Abduṣ Ṣamad Sakhun	...	1
30.	Mullā Bāqir Gīlānī	...	1
31.	Miān Shāhid	...	1
32.	Mīr Sharaf-ud-Dīn	...	1
33.	Mīrzā Muḥsin	...	1
34.	Munshī Qāil Khān	...	1
35.	Mīrzā Khusrau Beg	...	1
36.	Qāẓī 'Abdur Raḥīm	...	1
37.	Mīrzā Abul Wiqār	...	1
38.	Mīrzā Fāẓil Beg Turk	...	1
39.	Mīrzā Abul Khair	...	1
40.	To a relative	...	2
41.	Anonymous	...	7
	Total	...	273

N.B. The longest letter was written to Mīrzā Faẓāil.

APPENDIX C

Showing where the Nikat can be found in *Chahār 'Unṣur*

Number of the Nukta		Nikat in *Kullīyāte Ṣafdarī*	Page	Page of *Chahār 'Unṣur* where found
N.B.—Nikat from I to XVIII could not be traced from *Chāhār 'Unṣur*				
XIX	...	طبایع را تقلید اوضاع یکدیگر	8	27
XX	...	عارفی داشت درس نسخهٔ دید	9	—
XXI	...	افعال مردان را بر مقدمهٔ اقوال	9	—
XXII	...	صحبت دانا درعا لمیکه	9	15
XXIII	...	نفس رحمانی که اصطلاح اهل تحقیق	9	61
XXIV	...	آتش در طبع جماد	10	61
XXV	...	چشم پوشیده هر چند فردوس	10	52
XXVI	...	آئینهٔ تحقیق مخبر است	11	72
XXVII	...	نویهای طرز عبارات	11	74
XXVIII	...	گل کردن رموز غیب و شهادت	12	69
XXIX	...	تا کمر بشکست خود نه بستهٔ	13	25
XXX	...	آدمی بعلت آفسون امل	13	—
XXXI	...	زبان لاف را آنقدر	13	—
XXXII	...	آدمی رشتهٔ استعدادیست	14	45
XXXIII	..	حکم الفقراء کنفس واحده	15	44
XXXIV	...	آنچه از نسخهٔ دل فهم کنی	15	27
XXXXV	...	روح انسانی جوهریست بسیط	15	8
XXXXVI	...	ساز حقیقت از دست مجاز ترا شان	16	10
XXXXVII	...	عالمی بوصنع خود خورسند است	16	11
XXXXVIII	...	مقصود از سیر گریبان	17	51
XXXIX	...	طینت آدمی بحکم الناس لیام	17	51
XL	...	اعیان محفل امکانی را	17	92
XLI	...	باهمه بی تعینی	18	—
XLII	...	معنیٔ کرم در جمیع احوال	18	79
XLIII	...	تمثال ظهور احوال	18	72

Number of the Nukta		Nikāt in *Kullīyāt-e-Safdarī*	Page	Page of *Chahār 'Unṣur* where found
XLIV	...	در عنصر آباد کیفیت ظهور	19	70
XLV	...	در چار سوی کیفیات ظهور	19	61
XLVI	...	تاثیر در طبایع ارباب کرم	19	79
XLVII	...	گفتگوی ارواح و مثال	19	92
XLVIII	...	تا نسخهٔ اندیشهٔ هستیٔ ما و من	19	93
XLIX	...	عالم ایجاد سیرگاه جلوهٔ اضداد	19	93
L	...	از بزرگی پرسیدند که بحکم ان مع العسر	20	80
LI	...	کیفیت سخارا بنزاکتی سرشته اند	20	81
LII	...	شیرازهٔ اجزایٔ حواس	20	99
LIII	...	معنی نمایان نسخهٔ اسرار	20	12
LIV	...	روح انسانی شاهدیست لا ریبی	21	81
LV	...	کمال الٰهی که جامع حقیقت جمال و جلال	21	33
LVI	...	ورود سخن نزول ملائک است	22	60
LVII	...	از بزرگی پرسیدند خواب افضل است	23	53
LVIII	...	عالم از درشتیهای طبایع	23	20
LIX	...	از زمین تا آسمان یک در فیض	24	36
LX	...	حسن اگر بستائیش آئینه پردازد	24	44
LXI	...	غیب مطلق مرتبه است	24	53
LXII	...	جمیع خلائق بحکم مصلحت طبیعی	25	79
LXIII	...	اینکه عالمی میخوانیم صفحهٔ دلی	25	68
LXIV	...	غافلی از معنی می گفت	26	60
LXV	...	حصول نعمت کمال بی وساطت	26	24
LXVI	...	تحریر و تقریر مراتب اکثری	26	43
LXVII	...	از ارادهٔ حق چیزی بظهور	27	70
LXVIII	...	توجه خاطر با الفت فقرا	27	62
LXIX	...	صعبترین حالتی که هیچ مترصدی	28	—
LXX	...	تجربه کاران امتحان کدهٔ شعور	28	100

N.B.—For both *Nikat* and *Chahār 'Unṣar*, *Kullīyāt-e-Safdarī* should be consulted.

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Errata

Page	*Line*	*Incorrect*	*Correct*
2	Footnote 8	Page 3 supra	Page 1 supra
3	8	Behar	Bohar
4	Footnote 6	Pages 12, 23, 26, 29 infra	Pages 16, 21, 23, 25 infra
8	12	occastion	occasion
13	10	چشم تراش	چشم تواش
14	30	exercising	exorcising
14	Footnote 2	Page 11 supra	Page 9 supra
14	,, 5	Page 5 supra	Page 3 supra
17	8	هست اندر تری' تو	هست اندر توی' تو
18	21	در قضا افتاده است	در تنا افتاده است
18	31	hiden	hidden
19	24	Qalandar	Mīrzā Qalandar
19	Footnote 5	See supra	See page 9 supra
20	26	از خور رفتنی	از خود رفتنی
21	26	جنیبت جنولی	جنیبت جنولی
21	26	منبر هوش	منبر هوس
22	8	او عزم	برعزم
22	Footnote 2	Page 33 infra	Page 23 infra
27	32	گرد در خط	در گرد خط
27	Footnote 4	See infra	See page 33 infra
34	,, 1	page 22 supra	page 15 supra
34	23	ناودالنارا	ناودانهارا
35	6	tricles	trickles
37	Footnote 1	See supra	See page 15 supra
37	,, 2	See supra	See pages 15-17, 25-27 supra
38	,, 1	see supra	See page 21 supra
39	3	هیچ وجه	هیچ و جسد
39	36	contests.	contests,
43	Footnote 3	See infra	See page 93 infra
49	11	سرنجیب	سر انجیب
50	7	Intelligence	Intelligences.

Page	*Line*	*Incorrect*	*Correct*
62	14	کشتهٔ زریخ	کشتهٔ زرنیخ
63	18	سیزه حسن	سبزه حسن
69	9	بدعا	مدعا
74	32	<u>Sh</u>ākir	<u>Sh</u>ākir <u>Kh</u>ān
75	29	public	pubic
99	7	خاکندان	خاکدان
99	Footnote 1, line 13	نزئی	نزلی
102	5	better depository	better
112	Footnote 1, line 8	pea l	pearl
137	7	لاله بم	لاله بهم
137	36	herefore	therefore
140	last line	پارسه	پا رسد
141	last but one line	سربرود	سر برآرد
141	last line	نگاهیٔ	نگاهی و
142	2	figned	feigned
142	5	بگرزد	بگهر زد
145	24	کض الخیل	رکض الخیل
147	3	همد سم رسد	همه سم رسد
149	15	سبک شناسی	سبک هندی
149	Footnote 2	pages 45 and 34 supra	pages 40 and 58 supra
149	,, 3	pages 183-6 supra	pages 131-33 supra
150	,, 3	page 119 supra	page 83 supra
156	,, 3	page 134 supra	page 155 supra
168	2	لردون منقاب	لردون منقلب
171	11	(The fair ones)	(The fair ones),
173	Footnote 1	page 152 supra	page 106 supra
173	,, 4	page 172 supra	page 123 supra
175	,, 2	page 190 supra	page 136 supra
176	,, 3	(Missing)	Iqbāl, *Zarb-e-Kalīm*, p. 121
179	,, 1	page 190 supra	page 136 supra
180	,, 2	page 55 supra	page 39 supra
180	,, 4	page 171 supra	page 123 supra
181	,, 5	page 46 supra	page 33 supra
182	,, 5	pages 21-24 supra	pages 13-18 supra
187	last line	ad smell	and smell
189	Footnote 1	page 121 supra	page 84 supra
189	,, 4	page 60 supra	page 43 supra
189	,, 5	page 56 supra	page 40 supra
190	,, 2	page 84 supra	page 58 supra
190	,, 3	page 60 supra	page 42 supra
194	,, 1	page 91 supra	page 64 supra
195	,, 4	page 89 supra	page 61 supra
195	,, 6	page 91 supra	page 63 supra
196	,, 3	page 92 supra	page 64 supra

Page	Line	Incorrect	Correct
200	11	check	cheek
200	31	paradises	paradise
202	Footnote 2	page 247 supra	page 163 supra
204	7	برعرش	برغيرش
205	Footnote 5	page 85 supra	page 59 supra
208	19	etermity	eternity
208	Footnote 5	Ma'ārif Libsary	Ma'ārif Library
212	27	rope-ledder	rope-ladder
218	Footnote 2	p. 360 supra	p. 265 supra
219	,, 1	pages 180-2 supra	pages 129-30 supra
219	,, 3	page 68 supra	page 47 supra
222	,, 5	رود تصفيه' يار	رود بصفه' يار
226	,, 2	pages 47-9 supra	page 52 supra
227	36	Qaṣāid	Qaṣīda
227	Footnote 4	page 247 supra	pages 183, 202-3 supra
229	13	دل مند	دل منه
229	Footnote 3	page 68 supra	pages 48-49 supra
231	,, 6	page 14 supra	page 10 supra
232	,, 2	page 247 supra	page 183 supra
233	,, 3	pages 283, 286 supra	pages 209, 213 supra
238	,, 3	page 170 supra	page 121-2 supra
241	,, 1	page 142 supra	page 98 supra
251	,, 2	page 142 supra	page 99 supra
242	Last line	man of integrity	men of integrity
250	Footnote 1	page 133 supra	pages 21, 93 supra
250	,, 3	page 133 supra	page 67, supra
250	,, 4	page 85 supra	page 59, supra
250	,, 5	page 133 supra	page 93 supra
251	24	factors	facts
251	Footnote 4, line 3	*Khazinatul Asliyā*	*Khazinatul Asfiyā*
251	,, 5	page 36 supra	page 26 supra
254	19	محفل اغيان	محفل اعيان
254	Footnote 1	page 39 supra	page 27 supra
254	,, 2	page 76 supra	page 53 supra
255	,, 4	page 258 supra	page 185 supra
256	26	قطرتشي	قطرتش
256	Footnote 3	page 74 supra	page 51 supra
258	,, 7	page 33 supra	page 93 supra
258	,, 8	page 64 supra	page 45 supra
258	,, 10	page 61 supra	page 43 supra
258	,, 11	page 60 supra	page 42 supra
259	,, 1	pages 74, 348 supra	pages 51, 256 supra
259	,, 1, line 3	the third	the third 'Unṣur
261	,, 1	page 45 supra	page 77 supra
263	,, 3	page 137 supra	page 96 supra
263	,, 5	page 115 supra	page 80 supra

Page	*Line*	*Incorrect*	*Correct*
264	18	آورد و بردیم	آورده بردیم
265	Footnote 4	page 200 supra	page 145 supra
266	,, 2	page 150 supra	page 105 supra
268	18	subject	subjects
269	Footnote 2	pages 46-7 supra	page 33 supra
272	33	Ibaul-'Arabī	Ibn al-'Arabī
273	1	'Ārā	Ārā
274	9	Mughal	Mughul Kings
274	Footnote 1	page 32 supra	page 22 supra
274	,, 4	page 137 supra	page 96 supra
283	,, 1	page 284 supra	page 208 supra
284	,, 1	page 274 supra	page 202 supra